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Catholic Debates — *Daniel Callahan*

Chile Turns Left — *Donald D. Ranstead*

Johnson Maneuvers — *William V. Shannon*

VOLUME LXXX, NO. 20 SEPTEMBER 4, 1964 TWENTY-FIVE CENTS

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THIS WEEK

EDITORIALS

591 Hopes of Progress
592 Primacy and Ecumenism
592 Senate, Anyone?

ARTICLES, FEATURES

593 Johnson Maneuvers
by William V. Shannon
594 Chile Turns Left
by Donald D. Ranstead
596 Kafka East, Kafka West
by Harvey Cox
600 Ecumenism Behind Bars
by Robert McAfee Brown
603 Guaranteeing an Income
by Robert Theobald
607 Catholic Freedom and Mr. Wills
by Daniel Callahan

VERSE

602 A Good Woods
by Gordon Gilsdorf

DEPARTMENTS

609 The Screen
by Philip T. Hartung
610 "The Goldwaterite Revolution"
An Exchange of Views
615 Books

THE COMMONWEAL
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Second-class postage paid in Norwalk, Conn. Printed in the U.S.A. and published weekly, except biweekly Christmas-New Year's and from mid-July to mid-September, at 116 Main St., Norwalk, Conn., by The Commonweal Publishing Co., Inc., 232 Madison Ave., New York, N.Y. 10016. MUrray Hill 3-2042. Copyright © 1964 The Commonweal Publishing Co., Inc. U.S. and Canada, $8 a year. Foreign, $10. Single copies 25¢.

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THE COMMONWEAL

A WEEKLY REVIEW OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS, LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

Hopes of Progress

TEN YEARS after the historic Supreme Court decision token desegregation is finally beginning in Mississippi. In Jackson, the largest of the three localities involved, support by the mayor and city police was balanced by threats which kept Negro registration down to two score. Mississippi is the last state to begin school desegregation below the college level, and it does so in response to federal court orders secured by the N.A.A.C.P. The pace is likewise halting still in many communities of the deep South.

Up North there is also stiff resistance. A Board of Education plan to pair eight Brooklyn and Queens schools, and rezone three others, to achieve a better racial balance, is being met by an organized white parents' threat of boycott by a quarter million public school pupils. This follows months of heated controversy over assigning pupils to schools outside their own neighborhoods in order to remedy ghettoized education.

Negro violence due to racial tensions has largely been confined to the North. Yet it has heightened the resistance of Southern whites, who themselves have been witnessing no such disorders. Some Southern Negroes are simply too intimidated to protest in this fashion, while many others for religious reasons are dedicated to a policy of passive resistance. Disorders in Northern cities were instigated by young people desperately resentful of their inability to get work or to find a way out from unspeakable living conditions.

If the American Negro has yet to achieve much progress in the area of educational and employment opportunities, and continues to be normally confined to the worst slums, his political power is growing—which provides ground for considerable hope. In several states the registration program of the Southern Regional Council has borne such fruit that the Negro vote this year could tip the balance. Negroes from Georgia, North Carolina and Tennessee comprise part of their states' delegations at Atlantic City. Negro political strength is pronounced in a number of Northern cities, and the National Urban League is undertaking an ambitious voter-registration drive in the fifteen cities that account for a quarter of our Negro population.

THE OUTSTANDING exception to all this is Mississippi, where even today only 6.7 percent of the Negro population is registered. By physical terrorization, threats of loss of employment and refusals to register fully qualified applicants, Mississippians keep the Negro in hopeless subjection. The eight hundred brave young freedom workers who faced insult, beatings and death this summer to bring aid and morale to the state's Negro community failed in their efforts to build up voter registration. Beyond the inspiring example they set the youth of the whole country, their greatest success radiated from such long-term projects as community centers and freedom schools—with courses in remedial reading, mathematics, Negro history and the fundamentals of civil rights.

Friends of the American Negro believe that he can attain the first-class citizenship to which he is entitled primarily through the development of power. His poverty stems from a markedly higher unemployment rate and his exclusion *per se* from many better-paying jobs. The obstacle that often keeps him from buying a house in a better neighborhood is the refusal of the local banking community to grant him a mortgage. Atlanta serves as a prime example of the way a Negro community can build a foundation for its aspirations through organized utilization of limited capital and subsequent business drive.

There is a relationship between a wholesale change of heart in the white community, North and South, and the advance of the American Negro through orderly political processes. For one thing, in

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recalcitrant areas of the South genuine school desegregation could be set in train by withholding federal funds from school districts which refuse compliance. Here is one indication to what extent the Negro's hopes of progress are dependent on the defeat of Senator Goldwater.

Primacy and Ecumenism

DESPITE the historic meeting between Pope Paul VI and Patriarch Athenagoras in Jerusalem last spring, the relationship between the Church and Orthodoxy still remains strained. Centuries of division have left their mark; at most there are now some encouraging signs of a mutual willingness to talk.

As significant and joyful as these signs are, however, there is no use evading the deep theological divisions which continue to exist. In the July issue of *The Ecumenical Review* an outstanding theologian of the Greek Orthodox Church, Dr. Nikos Nissiotis, called attention once again to these divisions. In an article entitled "Is the Vatican Council Really Ecumenical?" he reaffirms Orthodox opposition to the Church's teaching on papal supremacy, raising questions as well about the present direction of Catholic ecumenism.

While a Catholic will naturally disagree with Dr. Nissiotis' assertion that "The Roman understanding of the Petrine Office is . . . neither biblically nor historically based," he raises a problem which is worth the considered attention of the Church. In brief, he argues that the Church's intepretation of the Petrine Office appears to make the doctrine "as equally essential as, for instance, the Christological dogmas examined by the ancient councils." Moreover, he believes that the Church sometimes gives the impression that the doctrine on the office of Peter is the most important of all doctrines.

In his encyclical "Ecclesiam Suam" Pope Paul discussed the primacy of the Pope, but it is not altogether clear whether he was, in effect, confirming the validity of Dr. Nissiotis' observation. "Without the Pope," he wrote, "the Catholic Church would no longer be catholic . . . [and] the unity of the Church of Christ would utterly collapse." Is this to say that the primacy of the Pope takes precedence over all other doctrines, or simply that it is a central doctrine? Since one could also say that the Church would not be catholic if all of its members did not profess the same faith, or did not use the same sacraments, the latter interpretation would seem more in keeping with traditional thought. It is a point, nonetheless, which calls for considerable clarification.

A second problem raised by Dr. Nissiotis turns on the Church's understanding of ecumenism. His concern is that "Rome, instead of discussing the nature of the Church and its true apostolic tradition, the limits of the *Una Sancta* and the problem of recapturing unity, will be preoccupied with the problem of order and discipline and institutional structure." This would lead, be believes, to a "limited" rather than an "integral" ecumenism; the placing of an emphasis, that is, on dialogue of "church with church" rather on the common task of all Christians to work together for unity. On this matter, too, "Ecclesiam Suam" is ambiguous, but with more hints unfortunately, of a "limited" rather than an "integral" ecumenism. With Dr. Nissiotis we hope that the Constitution *de oecumenismo,* expected in the third session of the Council, will reveal the thrust of the Church's thinking.

Senate, Anyone?

IS THERE any connection between the fact that the Beatles' latest movie received good reviews in New York and Clare Boothe Luce's candidacy for U. S. Senator? As of yet there is no evidence; but, it is said, the F. B. I. is investigating. Mrs. Luce's entry into the New York race for the Senate may seem bizarre to some prosaic souls; they forget that an ex-dancer and movie star is running for the senate in California and an ex-football coach in Oklahoma. (These is also the ex-press secretary, but he has already become a Senator. The ex-astronaut slipped in the bathtub.)

Kenneth Keating, incumbent Senator from New York, announced his candidacy by declaring, "I will not be a candidate for the United States Senate —from Massachusetts." It is not clear why this barb was aimed at young Robert Kennedy, who recently revealed that he had a New York apartment all along. Keating is against Goldwater whom Kennedy is also against but Mrs. Luce is for. Goldwater is against Kennedy but for Keating and against Mrs. Luce, leaving Mrs. Luce for Goldwater, who is against her. Likewise, the New York reform Democrats are for Mayor Wagner, against the "bosses," and against Kennedy. The "bosses" are against Wagner, against the reformers, and for Kennedy. Wagner is against the "bosses," for the reformers, and for Kennedy. Kennedy is for Everybody, a prudent move under the circumstances, which are that he has had an apartment here all along. Everybody (whom Kennedy is for) is for party unity.

It is rumored Walt Disney will announce his candidacy next week—if he can get Robert Moses' approval.

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Johnson Maneuvers

THE NOMINATION of Senator Goldwater has had a profound influence on the Washington scene. In small ways and large, the Johnson Administration has shifted markedly to the right in the six weeks since the Republican Convention.

A small but distressing evidence of this change of front was the Yarmolinsky affair. A small group of the most reactionary Southern Democrats demanded the removal of Adam Yarmolinsky, the top assistant to Sargent Shriver, as the price of their votes for the anti-poverty bill. The principal mover in this affair was Rep. Mendel Rivers of South Carolina who, unfortunately, will rise next year to the powerful position of chairman of the House Armed Services Committee. Rivers, like his South Carolina colleague, Senator Strom Thurmond, initially lent encouragement to General Edwin Walker during his brief hour in the sun back in 1962. Walker, who made rather weird, scatterbrained attacks on alleged subversive elements in the Pentagon, chose Yarmolinsky, then an assistant to Defense Secretary McNamara, as one of his targets. Rivers and other Southerners were also eager "to get" Yarmolinsky because he had been active in carrying out the Defense Department order requiring desegregation of privately-owned facilities around military bases in the South.

Although Rivers was the instigator of the attack, he used Rep. Harold Cooley and the members of the North Carolina delegation to front for him in his maneuver. Notwithstanding North Carolina's progressive reputation, the state's congressional delegation, except for Rep. Herbert Bonner and occasionally Cooley, is one of the most conservative in the House. Speaker John McCormack and the other House Democratic leaders, to their discredit, sat silent during a meeting in the Speaker's office while Cooley and the North Carolinians set forth their demand to Shriver for Yarmolinsky's dismissal. Shriver, who resisted at first, finally capitulated after discussing the matter with President Johnson. It was, Shriver later remarked, the "most miserable day of my life."

Since the poverty program had no funds of its own until Congress enacted the basic law, the planning and preparatory work had been done by individuals loaned by other government agencies which continued to pay their salaries. The Defense Department had loaned Yarmolinsky on a full-time basis from the inception of the program last December. Since it had been anticipated that he would be the deputy administrator, he had been replaced in the Defense Department although still carried on its payroll.

Under these circumstances, President Johnson was at best disingenuous when questioned about the matter by Edward Foliard of the *Washington Post* in a news conference at his Texas ranch on August 8. The following exchange took place:

Q. Mr. President, I want to ask a question about Adam Yarmolinsky, if I pronounce it correctly. He had been with the Department of Defense—

A. He still is.

Q. I thought he had been working for the Peace Corps and working on the poverty bill.

A. No, your thoughts are wrong, Eddie. He is still with the Department of Defense—

Q. I was also asked to ask you, Sir, if he was going back to the Pentagon, but you say he is still there.

A. He never left.

Yarmolinsky, an attorney, is the son of Avrahm Yarmolinsky, the well-known biographer of Dostoevsky, and of Babette Deutsch, the poetess. In personal terms, the Administration's surrender is a setback to his career but not catastrophic since he has been offered another post and if he chooses to leave the government, he does not depart in disgrace as some victims did during the loyalty-security mania of the McCarthy period. Nevertheless, the affair has sent a tremor of uneasiness through the upper levels of the bureaucracy where presidents and cabinet members are judged, in part, on their skill and courage in resisting unworthy pressures.

Mr. Johnson would perhaps not have yielded so easily if this were not an election year and if he had not been so eager to have Congress approve the poverty program before the campaign began. The presence of Goldwater as his opponent was a further conditioning influence. If he were running against a moderate such as Governor Rockefeller or Governor Scranton who would have disdained raising neo-McCarthyite cries, the President might have been willing to make a stand in Yarmolinsky's behalf. But, as it was, if a controversy developed, he reasoned that Goldwater and Representative Miller, his running mate, might pick up the Southern charges and enlarge upon them. Wary as always, Mr. Johnson played it safe.

In terms of Democratic campaign strategy, Goldwater has impelled Johnson to concentrate on the South and the Great Plains. Since the South is the only region where

SUMMER SCHEDULE

In keeping with the usual practice, The Commonweal appears on alternate weeks from the middle of July to the middle of September. The next issue will be dated Sept. 18.

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Goldwater is leading or running close in the public opinion polls, Mr. Johnson is trying to mollify Southern opinion. This explains his reluctance to back the claim of the Mississippi Freedom Democrats, most of them Negroes, to be seated as the legitimate Mississippi delegation to the Democratic National Convention in place of the lily-white regulars. If Rockefeller or Scranton had been running and making a strong drive for Negro support, Mr. Johnson would have been a good deal more forward in his position.

The President and his political staff, confident that he will do well on the two coasts and that he will divide the South roughly equally with Goldwater, believe the Middle Western states in the tier from Ohio to the Dakotas will decide the election. The farm states such as Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, Kansas, and the Dakotas are a particular target. The President takes great encouragement from a straw poll in Kansas showing him running far ahead with farm voters and from other polls showing him doing exceptionally well in all these states. The hope is that if he breaks into this normally Republican region as Harry Truman did in 1948, the President can offset any Southern losses and perhaps turn a comfortable victory into a landslide.

The most significant development flowing from Goldwater's nomination and the Democratic strategy evolved to defeat him has been the President's weak stand on the Dirksen rider and the Tuck Bill, both designed to annul the Supreme Court's legislative reapportionment decision. With farm and small town voters much in his mind, President Johnson did not want to appear as the protagonist of the wicked cities which are using the Court decision to break the rural monopoly of most state legislatures. While remaining publicly silent he encouraged Senator Mike Mansfield, his devotedly loyal Senate Majority Leader, to join Dirksen as a co-sponsor of the rider, and he directed the Justice Department to cooperate with the senators in devising language for the rider that would be constitutional.

The liberal senators let out screams of anguish as they saw the Administration cooperating with the Republican conservatives in a move to frustrate the reapportionment reform. Mr. Johnson would have blithely ignored Paul Douglas, Joseph Clark and other liberals as he frequently did in his days as Senate leader, but it was a different story when the mayors of the large cities began wiring and telephoning their protests. Regardless of what the polls show about Kansas or Iowa, the President is well aware that the nation's dozen biggest cities provide the core of his party's strength. In response to this urban pressure, he belatedly reversed himself and began working behind the scenes with the help of Senator Humphrey, the assistant majority leader, to work out some face-saving compromise.

As this is written, the issue is still in doubt. Dirksen, although he is probably bluffing, stoutly insists that he can rally a two-thirds majority for closure if the liberals insist on talking his rider to death. The liberals make the counter-claim that they have the majority needed to pass a motion to table. Neither side can be entirely certain since as usual there is a group of senators in the middle who are looking for the President and the leadership to extricate them from the burden of having to make any decision.

WILLIAM V. SHANNON

CRUCIAL ELECTION

Chile Turns Left

Santiago

CHILE HAS BEEN, for years, one of Uncle Sam's "great hopes" in Latin America. More per capita aid has been expended by the U.S. there than in any other Latin American republic. The California-Chile project, initiated by President Kennedy, has been enthusiastically continued by California's Governor Edmund Brown. Dozens of agronomists and other specialists have visited Chile from the Golden State recently. There is also the "sister city" plan whereby Santiago and Minneapolis, Valparaiso and Long Beach, and Viña del Mar and Sausalito "get to know each other" through good-will and cultural exchanges. Yet Chile is going to move considerably to the left in the September 4 presidential elections. And "left" in Chile, as throughout Latin America, always implies anti-U.S. sentiments of a varying degree. Why the seeming ingratitude? What is the nature of the election campaign?

Last March what was merely a by-election for one deputy to the national Chamber produced a political earthquake. The provincial center of Curicó elected a Socialist and candidate of the *Frente de Acción Popular* (FRAP). The conservatives and moderates had lost to Marxists in one of their traditional strongholds. The election was viewed as an indication of what would happen in September.

Organized in 1956, FRAP is a coalition of the Communist and Socialist parties as well as three small independent Marxist groups. Its presidential aspirant is the 54-year-old Senator, Doctor Salvador Allende, who lost the five-way presidential race of 1958 by a mere 33,000 votes. FRAP maintains an anti-imperialist, anti-monopolist, anti-feudalist position. The Communists have attempted to stay in the background as much as possible even though it is the coalition's largest party. Three widely read daily papers support Allende.

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The second candidate is Eduardo Frei, long-time leader of the *Partido Democratica Cristiano* (PDC). This party began in the late 1930s as a faction of idealistic youth who broke away from the tradition-bound Conservatives. Receiving 20% of the vote in the 1958 presidential elections, it has since become the fastest growing, and largest, party in Chile. It is, Frei insists, a nonconfessional party. Among its 16 deputies are Protestants as well as an agnostic, although it does attract liberal Catholics. Its youth displays a genuine fervor in approaching the "*inquilinos*" (poor farm workers) and "*rotos*" (poor, literally: broken ones). Frei's speeches strike the same tone of urgency as F.D.R.'s in the early depression years.

The third contestant is the traditional center party of Chile, the Radicals, whose candidate, Senator Julio Durán, the Liberals and Conservatives dropped after the Curicó by-election, switching to Frei, as the only possible alternative to Allende and the Communists. The once radical Radical party is declining rapidly and few give Durán more than 10-15% of the vote. The Radical leadership is fiercely anti-FRAP. At the same time, as the traditional anti-clerical party of Chile, it cannot bring itself to support the PDC.

FOR THE PAST five months Allende, Durán, and Frei posters have covered walls, telephone posts and trees; their banners and slogans hang on the cross wires of trolley lines. The government of President Alessandri (a conservative) has been scrupulously fair to the two major candidates, and the administration and university-administered television stations have maintained a determined impartiality. All of which bears out the contention of most observers of Chile: that her social and political deportment *is* unique.

What other country in the Western Hemisphere trains the police for six months largely in how to use the *minimum* amount of violence for a given situation? As a result, the left-socialist *Ultima Hora's* editorial on the *carabinero's* (police) 37th birthday was every bit as laudatory as the *Mercurio's*, the *New York Times* of Chile. The rank and file of all political parties are proud of living in the most law-abiding country south of the Canadian border.

No Chilean president has been assassinated in office. There is no "serf caste" of Indians. The Church-State issue was resolved some four decades ago and the army, with one brief lapse, has maintained a studied apolitical attitude. The "one brief lapse" occurred in 1925 when reform-minded officers forced a liberal constitution, under which Chile now lives, on a recalcitrant and conservative parliament. The army has withdrawn to the background of national life ever since. Chileans, from left to right, have nothing but contempt for the "*gorilas*" (military leaders in politics) of Argentina, Ecuador, Brazil and so many other sister republics. Yet, with all this amiable sophistication, there is economic stagnation. As the *Economist* of June 20 wondered, how long can the combination last?

Allende's contention that inflation cannot be stopped without structural reform seems to be borne out by the fantastic price increases recently (55% since November). The external debt of the country is staggering and goes up every year. *The* dollar earner of Chile, copper, is almost completely controlled by U.S. interests; and FRAP, calling for nationalization, points angrily to the undeniable fact that the full profits do not return to Chile. The PDC is also irritated by the Anaconda and Kennecott policy of sending the copper to the U.S. for refining. More at the root of Chile's economic problem than inflation (which is merely a symptom) is the backward state of the country's agriculture. In a country which has the natural resources to feed ten times its present population, much of its dollar reserves go to importing food; 86% of the arable land is owned by a scant 10%. If the large landowners were efficient (as they are in California's "factories in the field") this feudal situation might have some justification. But they are not. There were fewer head of cattle in Chile in 1950 than in 1910. Meanwhile, the population doubled. This backwardness accounts for the widespread malnutrition. Infant mortality is high. Many children are forced to work and beg for food; almost one-third of those between seven and fourteen do not attend school regularly.

THIS ELECTION has an importance which goes well beyond Chile's national borders. The international Communist movement is watching it closely. The Secretary General of Chile's party has argued at some length that the "peaceful road"—"dogmatists" in Peking notwithstanding—could be a form of revolution, a minority position among Latin America's Communists. Chile's "Chinese" have been expelled or voluntarily left the party as it has become progressively "softer." Chile's (and Latin America's) greatest poet and veteran Communist, Pablo Neruda, has said harsh things about the Chinese treatment of writers and intellectuals. Allende himself has been increasingly sparing in his praise of Cuba, while a recent article in the international Fidelista journal *Revolution* disparages the Chilean "class collaboration." It is quite clear that this election signifies a great deal to both positions of international Communism.

The PDC also aspires to an internationalism, trying to extend ties to other, similar groups in Latin America and Western Europe. This seems to be the only Latin American "Third Force" that does not depend on doctrinaire U.S. liberalism for its underpinning. It certainly has more appeal in Chile than the formulas, always dominated by anti-Communism, of the aging Haya de la Torres and Betancourts to the north. Frei

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has made it clear that regardless of the motives of the Liberals, Conservatives and *Mercurio* in supporting him, they can expect no favors should he be elected. The conservatives' anti-Communism has little in common with the PDC's which is aware that FRAP's appeal is based on harsh economic realities. Consistent with this approach, and again in contrast with many "Third Forces" elsewhere, the PDC goes to organizations where the workers and students are, rather than establishing "clean" rival bodies. In the last elections to the university student organizations the PDC swept most of the offices which had previously been held by FRAP. Likewise, in the executive of the *Central Unica de Trabajadores*—the AFL-CIO of Chile— the PDC is now second only to the Communist party, and many feel that a Freista will be its next head. Should Frei be elected, it could mean a strengthening of a genuine non-Communist left in Latin America.

FRAP charges Frei with being conservative while talking leftism. The compliment is returned by the PDC and *Mercurio* who contend that FRAP is really Communist controlled and merely pretends to be moderate. A Communist Senator gave the PDC ammunition by making a wildly anti-Catholic tirade in Congress the end of June. Although Allende repudiated it, Catholic votes undoubtedly were lost.

What, then, are the relative strengths as September 4 approaches? Even though some 90% of the doctors may be for their colleague Allende (A.M.A., *nota bene*), the women are not. In 1958 Allende received 600,000 votes, but only 100,000 from women. The FRAP has a hard core of about 30% of the voters, whereas, judging by the municipal elections and recent advances, the PDC has closer to 35%. But even though the presidency has powers equivalent to those of De Gaulle's France, whichever of the two groups win they will have to support each other to carry through Congress a sweeping program of domestic reform.

Passions are running high and the number of fist fights in Congress growing. Yet, considering the stakes, the lack of organized violence is surprising. The extraordinarily cohesive unity of Chileans will survive the growing recriminations of the campaign. Should "freedom seekers" begin to arrive in Miami from Santiago this fall, the U.S. should not be overly troubled; these wealthy elements, who seem almost as apprehensive about Frei as Allende, reserved their passages months ago, after the Curicó upset. Air passage from the capital to foreign parts has been booked solid for the four months following September 4. These travelers are right about one thing: Chile will be moving left after September 4. After two decades of lethargy it will once again be trying to find answers to difficult social and economic problems. DONALD D. RANSTEAD

(Donald D. Ranstead is an American now teaching and writing in Santiago.)

Harvey Cox

Kafka East, Kafka West

He represents that point at which a conversation between Marxists and Christians now seems possible

THE COSMOPOLITAN citizens of Prague like to think of their exquisite city as the *"Treffpunkt Europas,"* a a meeting place for dialogue in the heart of Europe. For many years now this has hardly been the case. Crouched under the largest statue of Stalin anywhere in the world, the "Golden City on the Moldau" seemed grim and gray. Tourists avoided it, or couldn't get in. Creative intellectual life slowed to a standstill. But by this summer, Prague had begun to look once again like its old self. The enormous statue of Stalin had been painfully dismantled and discarded; the lagging Czech economy had experienced a new upturn; and most importantly, Prague had begun once again to entertain world conferences, delegations and floods of Western tourists.

One such conference was the Second Assembly of the Christian Peace Conference which in June brought over 1200 churchmen from nearly 100 countries to Prague for a week of discussion and study on the Christian contribution to world peace. Arranged in part by the Protestant host churches in Czechoslovakia, the conference caused many Eastern European officials to hold their breath apprehensively. It was the biggest assembly of churchmen ever brought together on Communist soil. Certainly tourism is economically desirable,

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but this seemed a bit too much. Delegates from East and West Germany, from the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R., and from Africa, Asia and Latin-America had the opportunity to pursue theological and political discussions far into the summer night. They argued heatedly in the twelve commissions devoted to such explosive issues as the German problem, disarmament, ecumenism and the cold war. The Czech Christians were thrilled that Prague seemed to be playing its old role as broker of ideas. Between sessions, delegates sat in Prague's picturesque bistros and cellars, inundated its museums and shopped along the Vaclavske Namesti. After the evening sessions, the eighty Americans present, including two Jesuit priests as well as a handful of lay Catholics, fanned out to sample the jazz and night life of Prague. Some attended the showings of the Prague International Film Festival which opened with a new Czech film extolling the courage of those sturdy few who had stood up against repression during the Stalinist midnight. Some attended the performances of the plays of Swiss playwright Friedrich Dürrenmatt, who had come to Prague personally to open the series, knowing full well that as recently as two years ago his plays ("The Visit," "The Physicist") had been banned by the Communists as confused bourgeois jottings. At the galleries in the Stáre Mesto, bold, abstract paintings attracted crowds of enthusiastic viewers. In short, Prague felt this summer very much like Warsaw must have felt in 1956 and 1957.

BOTH EASTERN and Western Europeans were reveling in the new freedom, and no one was enjoying it more than the Czechs themselves. They seemed pleased by the fact that holding the Christian Peace Conference in Prague had provided not only an occasion for conversations among Christians but had also set the scene for talks between the visiting Christians and the swarms of young Communist intellectuals who have made Prague their new agora. Together everyone enjoyed the freshlets of the new Czech thaw, an era of cultural openness for which the writer, Franz Kafka, a Czech Jew who wrote in German, has become a kind of inclusive symbol. In fact Kafka now serves almost as the posthumously rehabilitated and now canonized patron saint of the kind of cosmopolitan *élan* Prague would like so much to recover.

But in connection with the churches of Europe, Kafka represents something even more. The strident controversy which has emerged among Communist regimes about his rehabilitation, after he had languished for forty years in the limbo of "bourgeois decadence," dramatizes the strains and fissures which are emerging among the various Eastern European countries. It is not quite a "realignment," but patterns of relationships are shifting, and this is taking place in a Europe which no longer thinks of itself as "East" and "West" but more and more simply as "Europe." The loosening which has developed out of relaxation of both the Russian and of the American grip over their respective spheres of influence in Europe has naturally produced a tendency on the part of the European nations to look toward each other again.

The shrine of the new Kafka cult is a small but skillfully contrived exhibit in Prague's Museum of Czech literature. Nearly all the delegates to the conference went there during the week, noticing the hushed reverence with which visitors viewed the autographs, photos and manuscript pages. The exhibit was opened by none other than old Max Brod himself, the crusty dean of the Kafka scholars, making his first visit to Prague since he fled before the occupying Germans in 1938. The exhibit is an event of epochal cultural and political significance in the life of Eastern Europe. In the forty years since Kafka died, his works have not been available in Communist countries. Now that period of exile is over. In this unostentatious exhibit, the Czechs are in effect announcing to the world that culturally they are once again joining Europe.

BUT CULTURE and politics can never be separated for very long, especially in Central Europe. The fact that the Czechs have decided to join Europe culturally has far-reaching political implications. The strain it has put on intra-Communist relations is illustrated by the now-famous consultation on Kafka which was held at the venerable old Liblicá Castle near Prague in May of 1963. The host was Professor Edvard Goldstücker, Czechoslovakia's leading expert on Kafka. The discussion included writers and critics from most of the Eastern European countries as well as two Western Communist literary lights, Ernst Fischer from Austria and Roger Garaudy from France. Monsieur Garaudy is not only a respected philosophy professor but is a member of the politburo of the French Communist party. The upshot of the consultation was the total defeat of the die-hard East German delegation headed by Alfred Kurella, whose word has been definitive in East Germany on matters of culture politics. The Western participants were calling for the open publication of all of Kafka's works, most of the Easterners agreed. Some of the Polish and Czech writers even saw in Kafka a kind of socialist before his time. Others insisted that he was the supreme commentator on the alienation of modern man in industrial society and that, furthermore, this alienation obtains not only in capitalist but also in socialist societies. This latter bit of Marxist heterodoxy, which shocked and antagonized the East Germans, was urged especially by Fischer and Garraudy.

Reports have it that Herr Kurella and his delegation of cultural Stalinists became increasingly apprehensive at the direction the consultation was taking. They had

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come to bury Kafka not to praise him. As the hours lengthened and tempers shortened, the walls of Liblicá Castle rang with charge and counter-charge. Finally, as one Marxist liberalizer sang yet another paean to Kafka, describing him as a kind of "morning dove heralding the new day of socialism," Herr Kurella could stand it no longer. "A dove?" he shouted. "This Kafka is no dove of the morning. He is a bat flying out of the darkness." With that the East German delegation returned home. To this day it is impossible to buy a copy of Kafka's works anywhere in East Germany.

A central reality in the emergence of the new "Europe" is that East Germany, the last remaining bastion of cultural repression and literary Stalinism, is becoming more and more isolated in every way. Travel between Poland and Western Europe today, for example, is much easier than between East Germany and Poland. The East Germans resent the effort of the Czechs to increase trade and tourism with West Germany. As the Czechs move swiftly toward an open door to Western Europe, the provincialism of the isolated East Germans becomes even more evident in contrast. East German intellectuals are increasingly testy and confused about the new turn of events. "Sure the Czechs can do it," grumbled one young East German Communist to me, half in resentment, half in jealousy, "but that's because they don't have any 'West Prague' to worry about."

His sour-grapes attitude illustrates the dreary plight of East Germany. It lives daily in direct contact with a country which uses the same language and draws on the same cultural tradition, but with which it continues to be locked in a continuing political and propaganda imbroglio. Neither East nor West Germany can resist the temptation to criticize and belittle the other, to turn every conversation into a brawl. The Poles and the Czechs do not have any such problem. Still, it remains a question how much the East German regime uses the galling presence of the West German "*Revanchismus*" as an excuse to avoid a cultural liberalization it has no stomach for anyway. In any case, the intellectuals of Eastern Europe, Communist and non-Communist alike, are contemptuous of the East Germans.

BUT THERE are even more basic reasons why the Poles and the Czechs are suspicious and resentful of East Germany. These spring from the role Walter Ullbricht is beginning to play in Russia's relationship to its former satellites. There are indications that Khrushchev has become uneasy over the speed with which his former Eastern European empire is crumbling and is looking for ways to slow down the disintegration. Thing have gone pretty far. The Rumanians have exploited the Moscow-Peking rift to move further away from Russian economic thralldom than anyone would have thought possible a few years back. In Hungary, even writers such as Tibor Dery who took part in the uprising in 1956 have been out of jail and publishing for two years. The reason why the ex-satellites are not eager to see any hasty excommunication of Peking is that it would simply free the U.S.S.R. to concentrate again on lining up its unruly Eastern European wards. Khrushchev wants to restore some order to the disarray; he needs a catspaw, and who is better suited for the role than Walter Ullbricht?

But its new task as an outpost of the Kremlin on the unruly Eastern European flank is hardly calculated to increase East Germany's popularity, and Ullbricht's regime is already probably the most disliked one in Europe, East or West. For many Czechs and Poles, East Germans remain Germans, and that is enough to seal their unpopularity. For East European intellectuals, the East Germans are a constant source of embarrassment and dismay. Most young Poles and Czechs have always despised the Wall, with its symbolic back-turning on the West. Now even leading politicians have reason to view East Germany with suspicion. Wladislaw Gomulka of Poland, for example, must work every day at the perplexing task of preserving some measure of popular support while not displeasing the U.S.S.R. and still combatting the Stalinists in his own party. Squeezed between East Germany and the Soviet Union, Gomulka cannot be happy with the new "special relationship" that has begun to emerge between his two neighbors, a relationship which is dedicated in part to keeping him, as well as the Czechs and the Rumanians, in line. For solid historical reasons, the Poles have cause to become wary when Russians and Germans, on whatever grounds, begin holding hands. Similar thoughts and memories energize the reactions of the other Slavic nations.

ALL OF THIS lies beneath discussions about the place of Kafka or other disputes over so-called culture politics. It means for the churches of Europe that, whether they live in the East or the West, a solution to what is called "the German problem" stands high on the agenda of prerequisites to a lasting peace. Czechs are understandably unnerved when high Bonn officials suggest

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that the Sudeten question is still not finally settled. They are also disturbed by the new haughtiness emanating from Pankow. Most European churchmen, East and West, are apprehensive about Germany and feel that a real danger to the peace exists so long as the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. continue to use their respective halves of Germany to advance their own aims in Europe. Many now long for a "European" solution, letting the Germans work out their own reunification within the framework of a European security arrangement. The feeling remains that until something is done about Germany, a constant danger to the peace of Europe continues to smolder.

This concern on the part of Europeans comes as a surprise not only to Americans, who have tended to forget about Germany and Berlin in the past two years, but to Africans and Asians, to whom the whole dispute seems only to deflect attention from the real issues that churches should be facing. European Christians, however, seared by the memories of war, feel very strongly that the preservation of peace is the *sine qua non* of human life on their little continent and for this reason is the most important aspect of their social witness. This may be why *Pacem in Terris* received a much wider and more sympathetic reading among European Protestants than it did among their American counterparts. It may also explain why the constant irritation produced by the unsolved division of Germany, together with the appearance of a whole new set of relationships among European nations, seems so much more important than it does on this side of the Atlantic. The Kafka controversy reflects the tensions and troubles, as well as the healthy possibilities, of the new "Europe" that is now replacing the two Europes which have existed side by side since the dropping of the iron curtain.

BUT THERE IS a more properly theological reason why the Kafka issue is so significant for the mission of the churches in Europe. Kafka represents that point at which a conversation between Christians and Marxists now seems to be possible. His writings do this by posing with unavoidable clarity what one writer has aptly called "the atheist's problem of God."

A German-speaking Jew, reared in the Prague ghetto, Franz Kafka wrote with such power because he fully accepted the radically immanentist world of twentieth-century man, a world in which the three-decker universe of classical religious metaphysics had disappeared. But in accepting this de-religionized world, he also revealed its limitations, even its contradictions. His novels and short stories demonstrate that man cannot be truly man in such a world. At the same time, they show that man cannot go back to the irretrievably vanished world of classical Christendom. Like the Italian writer Ignazio Silone, Kafka wanted to find real grace, but to find it in this world. His anguish in failing to do so puts an unavoidable question to Christian and Marxist alike, a question which, despite the Marxist revisionism of Leszek Kolakowski and Milan Mahvecs, and despite the Christian "revisionism" of Paul Tillich and Dietrich Bonhoeffer, has still not been answered. But there is no doubt that it is *the* characteristic religious question of modern man.

As W. H. Auden once said, if we think of the relationship Shakespeare bore to his age and Goethe bore to his, then Kafka bears that kind of relationship to ours. It is Kafka, the troubled, half-believing Jew, who may bring Christians and Marxists back into useful and lively conversation. How can Kafka do this?

Kafka's work elicits a major concession from both Christians and Marxists. From those Christians who take him seriously he demands that the traditional God of the world overhead be forgotten as no longer anything more than a cultural accessory to man. The theologian who tries to bring grace to twentieth-century man by dragging him back to a vanished metaphysical world-view is defeated before he begins. This is especially true of Europe. To touch the European man of today, the grace of God must be understood in terms which do not violate the radically terrestrial horizon within which he lives. Kafka paints the figure of a man in quest of meaning, bewildered and beset but sure of one thing: the meaning he needs is not available at the wellsprings of traditionally defined religion. To Christian theologians, Kafka's challenge is one that they can ignore only at the risk of becoming intellectual antiquarians.

But to Marxists, Kafka's question is equally disturbing. He testifies to the prolonged spiritual anguish of a man who, while recognizing the one-dimensionality of existence, still insists that it is impossible to live within it. While rejecting salvation from the God of traditional theism, Kafka also refused to bow down before the easy explanations of scientfic atheism. He realized, decades before the many young Marxist theoreticians who have now learned it, that man's alienation from himself and his neighbor points to a dimension of his existence which far transcends his participation in the economic and political institutions of human society.

Kafka learned this in the hardest way possible: through trying to overcome his feeling of estrangement in life by burying himself in the vitalities of human community. He wanted to be a good man, a good husband, a good father. As fate would have it, he was denied most of the supports of communal life, but not before he had learned that they provide no sure bulwark against the assaults of alienation. Beginning with a naive faith that solidarity in the human community would deliver him from his lostness, Kafka slowly had to admit to himself that in fact the whole human community was lost. There was something basically

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and elementally wrong at the very core of existence, something that no revolution, no matter how comprehensive, could remedy.

IT IS the residue of alienation, still persistently present in socialist societies, which puzzles honest Marxist thinkers today. Their puzzlement is increased when they meet Christians, especially those who have grown up in socialist societies and unashamedly call themselves socialists, but who insist there is a restlessness in man even under socialism, a quest for meaning to which only the Christian Gospel can speak. Kafka is no propagandist for the Gospel. But he does make it impossible for sensitive young Marxists, who cannot avoid finding their own deepest feelings probed and articulated in his pages, to defend the rickety proposition that human estrangement disappears when private property is abolished.

This explains in part why such Marxist scholars as Milan Mahovecs, who is professor of ethics at Prague's Charles University, are now devoting so much time to the study of Christian theologians, why they seek out visiting churchmen for extended conversations. It also explains why those timorous theologians who, frightened by the Marxist onslaught, retreated into a two-kingdoms theology to avoid dialogue or, even worse, tried to accommodate Christian theology to dialectical materialism, now find themselves in a painfully embarrassing position. The young Marxists who roam the cafes of Prague in search of dialogue are not interested in some sort of theological me-too-ism. They are looking for Christians who will take them seriously, as thinkers and as human beings, who will criticize their position relentlessly, explicate their own point of view clearly, and listen to the Marxist position with neither arrogance nor ingratiation.

After many years of ideological cold war, what Jean-Paul Sartre has called the "disarmament of culture" may be getting started. The Christians who gathered in Prague and who have now returned to their many churches may find, in the coming years, that as the intra-familial conversation we have presumptuously called a "dialogue" produces a growing ecumenical consensus, the *real* dialogue with the world can begin.

In Kafka's haunting novel *The Trial,* he depicts Joseph K. gazing at a picture on the cathedral wall of Christ being lowered into the tomb, with a knight in attendance. Here Kafka has recalled to us the blackest moment in man's long story, that moment when the link between God and man seemed irreparably broken. It was in this darkened world of the absent God that Kafka groped during his whole career. But because he suffered the pain of the absent God in his own life, and wished desperately for something more, he may provide the starting point for a conversation between those who, reared in belief, find it hard to believe, and those who, reared in disbelief, find it even harder to disbelieve. Somewhere in the midst of this candid dialogue, the God who stands beyond belief and disbelief may grant His people a new Word for a new Europe.

ROBERT McAFEE BROWN

Ecumenism Behind Bars

"You realize that you are not alone"

Tallahassee, Florida

PROBABLY THE most difficult thing to cope with is the uncertainty. You unfasten your seat belt to get off the plane and have no idea what will happen when you have gotten to the bottom of the ramp. A rumor is out that you are to be re-arrested immediately. If so, will you be allowed to contact counsel? Will you be able to maintain outward calm, no matter how much your stomach is churning inwardly?

There are no policemen at the foot of the ramp but, to your surprise, there are reporters. How did they know you were coming back to face jail sentence? Can you talk to them without committing your fellow ministers and rabbis to some attitude or reaction of yours they may not share?

You walk into the airport terminal, the same terminal where three years before a mob had gathered in the dark-

ROBERT MCAFEE BROWN was convicted in Tallahassee, Florida, three years ago, during the course of a Freedom Ride, for "unlawful assembly with incitement to riot." An appeal to the Supreme Court was turned down on the grounds that all legal procedures had not been exhausted in state courts. Before further appeals had been acted upon, the group was ordered to serve its sentence. They were released a few days later after serving only a small portion of their sixty-day sentence.

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ness intending to beat you up for being a "nigger-lover"; the same terminal where three years before the city officials had finally arrested you—not the mob—for "unlawful assembly with incitement to riot." Much is still the same. The rabbis and the Negro and white ministers with whom you had come to test the airport facilities are there. Even some of the reporters who were covering the story three years ago are back. The murals on the wall, though slightly faded, are the same murals.

But there is one important difference. The restaurant, which three years before had refused to serve you because some of your group were Negro, is now integrated. The issue that had brought you here three years ago is no longer an issue. That battle has been won. But the city officials, three years later, are stubbornly insisting, on a legal and procedural technicality, that you return to face imprisonment.

It is now late at night. You have missed the airport bus into town, six long, dark miles away. Every time you made that trip three years ago you had police escort, so that the rednecks waiting to get you would be thwarted, even in the dark in which they love to work. A reporter offers you a ride back to town, where you have been told that you will be able to stay in an integrated hotel—a miracle beyond all your anticipations. You thank the reporter, climb in and drive off. As you leave, another car pulls out of the parking lot behind you and follows you into the dark void of that six miles of country road to town. The car's headlights stay a measured distance behind you, and once again the involuntary pang of fear makes its way up to your throat. You wonder who are in that car, and how long they will wait before they gun their motor, pull up alongside and force you off the road.

And then you catch yourself. This is pure fantasy, induced by a sleepless night and a hectic day. That sort of thing might have happened three years ago, but this is 1964 and the civil rights bill has been passed. Things have changed.

You relax, and you do get to your hotel without incident. But you can't help remembering that not so far away, in Mississippi, cars *are* pulling up and forcing other cars off the road, and "nigger-lovers" are being beaten up and killed, and that it is still 1964 and the Civil Rights Bill has been passed. Only things have not changed.

The next day you go to court, are given brusque and contemptuous treatment by the city judge, and find yourself once again in the same jail you inhabited three years ago—a step that had to be taken so that the lawyers could start the long, weary fight up through the courts again.

Once again, there is uncertainty, though now, safely behind bars, the uncertainty is no longer tinged with fear. You may find your case reinstated and be out on bail in a few hours. Or, a number of appeals may be necessary, and you may be here a few days. Or, though it is hard to conceive, you may lose the whole case on a technicality and face the prospect of a full sixty day incarceration. . . .

WHAT HAS all this got to do with ecumenism? A number of things. And the word is one you begin to appreciate in a new way when you are behind bars. For you discover very soon that although the law can keep you in jail, the law can't keep the church out of jail. You realize that you are not alone. You do not have a heightened mystic sense of the presence of God, but you do have a heightened tangible sense of the presence of the communion of saints. The telegrams of support begin to come —from a Catholic layman in California; from a "white Southern Presbyterian couple" in Arkansas; from a group of priests, nuns, lay people and Protestant ministers on joint retreat; from a Catholic seminary professor; from members of the rabbis' congregations; from your own denominational officials; and, most humbling of all, from Martin Luther King, Jr.—humbling because he has been in jail dozens of times more than you have, and how many telegrams did you think to send to him?

It's not just the telegrams. It's the fact that almost all the telegrams remind you that the senders are praying for you and have groups of people praying for you. And you realize as you sit in jail that Protestants in Hot Springs, Catholics in Menlo Park, Jews in Springfield, Negroes in Newark, "WASPS" in New York City, and many others you know not of, are upholding and supporting all of you by a great web of love and concern and intercession.

When one of the rabbis gets a telegram that goes "*Baruch ata adonai matir assurim*" (and how the prison censors must have puzzled over that one), you know as a Protestant that you too are being included in the ancient prayer of the Jewish liturgy that goes, "Blessed art thou, O Lord, who freest the captives." When a priest wires you of "the prayers and penances of many for your group," you are strengthened at the picture of Catholics gathered to pray exclusively for Protestants and Jews.

Not only are there ecumenical "prayers and penances," there is joint ecumenical action as well. The chairman of the social action commission and the vice-president of the Synagogue Council of America, join with the director and associate director of the Commission on Religion and Race of the National Council of Churches of Christ, in sending telegrams of protest to the city officials. Another official of the National Council of Churches of Christ wires your group that he is willing to enlist clergymen to picket the jail (and that one *does* rock the prison censors). A Presbyterian denominational official flies down from Nashville just to visit you in prison. Another comes from New York. Later a large basket of fruit arrives in their name. The local Jewish rabbi visits the jail every evening. The Negro clergy of Tallahassee continue the marvelous public support they gave you three years ago, visiting the jail, bringing writing materials (on which

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this is being written), reading matter, shaving equipment—vehicles, all, of an *agape* that transcends denominational boundaries and encompasses and destroys interfaith boundaries. For the first time, local white Protestant ministers visit the "nigger-lovers" in jail—three of them, all told, in an act that defies the local *mores* and brings a further sense of local support to the inmates.

FINALLY, after a few days of this, one of the rabbis says to you, "It's the Negro who has brought us all together. Until the civil rights movement I hardly knew any Protestants, and I certainly didn't know any Catholics." And he is right. You discover that you still have theological differences with the rabbis inside the jail who are living with you, and with the Catholics outside the jail who are praying for you. But you make the even more important discovery that on this particular issue—equal rights for all men—you have absolutely no differences whatsoever. Here you are totally and unequivocally one.

Catholics and Jews are not less concerned about civil rights than Protestants. Protestants and Jews do not see the *imago dei* in the Negro any less clearly than Catholics. Catholics and Protestants do not have insights into the civil rights struggle that are denied to the Jews—though Catholics and Protestants still have a lot to learn from the Jews about how Catholic and Protestant abuse of the Jews in the past has given the lie to Catholic and Protestant lip-service concern for them.

As you share a deepening ecumenical fellowship in jail—the Jews joining with you when you pray, you learning from the rabbis a grace before meat from the Jewish liturgy—you wish that a priest also were in your midst. In 1961, the occasion of the incident that has prompted your present plight, it was not possible to work out procedures whereby a Catholic priest could accompany you on a Freedom Ride, though you know some who would like to have done so. Would it have been so hard, you wonder, in 1964, when so much has happened to the church and the world in the interval? And you wonder if in another three years, under similar circumstances, a Catholic priest from the *locale* of the arrest might find his way clear to visit the jail and pray with his Protestant and Jewish brethren?

"Ecumenism," you recall, specifically involves the renewal of bonds between members of divided Christendom, with a special concern beyond that arena for the Jews, who are so deeply and uniquely your spiritual brothers. But the concern to draw together, that ecumenism represents, must finally extend beyond ecclesiastical boundaries, to relationship with all men, whether ecclesiastically affiliated or not. You discover foretastes, even of this, behind bars. You share the bullpen with a number of men picked up for drunkenness. Early on, one of them makes a disparaging remark about "kikes." Your rabbi friends endure it in silence, but you learn very soon that another of your cell mates, still suffering from the shakes of acute alcoholism, has gone to the offender and threatened, in no uncertain terms, to bash his head in if he repeats the word. The most humbling reaching out across all barriers comes from another inmate, a Southerner who has had experience in a good many jails across the land, and who after a meal, shakes hands with you and says, "This is one time I'm proud to be in jail."

Prison walls are high and thick and hard. But they are not impenetrable to love on the wings of prayer. Denominational walls are high and thick and hard, too. But they are not impenetrable either. And you realize that it may be a special gift of grace to have lived behind both kinds of walls, in order to make the discovery that neither one is as formidable as you once thought.

Our last act as a group was to go to the airport restaurant that had refused to serve us three years ago, enter it in company with a number of local Negro clergymen, and have a cup of coffee together—as close to a sacramental experience as I ever expect to have away from the communion table.

When I add up the bus fares, plane fares, taxi fares and food bills that it took to get that cup, I'm sure no past cup of coffee ever cost me as much as that one did. But I'm equally sure that no future cup of coffee will ever taste as good.

A Good Woods

I stand here chilled on the edge
of more than mid-age
and watch a good woods memorize
a slow snowfall.

I can almost hear the trees taking
the cold syllables to heart
and moss like a scribe setting down
the white epic.

Something as whispered as this snow
a woods will shout
like a green gospel from the first
housetop of spring,

where winter lies dying and blind
and deaf as a stone
to the endless echo of blue phrases
from April violets.

And I who am now a word in the world,
a vowel on the tongue of time,
must say in a whisper how hope is snow
in search of its spring.

GORDON GILSDORF

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ROBERT THEOBALD

Guaranteeing an Income

A new constitutional right for the developing post-industrial age

UNTIL quite recently it was possible to examine all the evidence about the effects of technological change and remain skeptical about whether it would have any dramatic new impact on the economy and society. But today, unwillingness to concede the need for drastic changes in our social and economic system can only result from an unwillingness to face the facts. These were set out clearly during the recent hearings of Senator Clark's subcommittee on Employment and Manpower. George G. Kirstein, publisher of *The Nation*, summarized their overwhelming impact: "I am confident that readers of the testimony placed before the Manpower Committee will conclude . . . that a manpower revolution, involving unemployment ratios that are presently undreamed of, confronts us in the near future."

We are entering an era whose requirements are as different from those of the recent industrial age as those of the industrial age were different from the agricultural. In the agricultural era, human skill combined with human and animal power in a system which provided a minimal standard of living for the vast majority of the people and a leisured existence for a small elite. In the industrial age, which we are now leaving, human skills were combined with machine power to provide great wealth for a few, a reasonable standard of living for most and abject poverty for those unable to find a place within the productive system. Today the cybernated productive system is emerging—an innovation in productive techniques and organization based on machine power and machine skill, i.e., on the combination of automated machinery and the computer.

Cybernation will make it possible for machines to carry out all repetitive physical and mental tasks within a few years. Gerard Piel, publisher of *Scientific American*, has put it this way: "The new development in our technology is the replacement of the human nervous system by automatic controls and by the computer that ultimately integrates the functions of the automatic control units at each point in the production process. The human muscle began to be disengaged from the productive system at least a hundred years ago. Now the human nervous system is being disengaged." The relevant question is therefore no longer *whether* there is a need for rapid socio-economic change but only *what sort* of socio-economic change is required and how we can ensure that it happens fast enough. A small but growing number of people have examined the evidence and recognize that we face unprecedented problems.

Most of them argue that we should find ways to keep the industrial system operating efficiently. They propose for this purpose two types of measures: first, those which are designed to raise the demand for goods and services and in this way increase the number of available jobs: second, those which are designed to fit the worker to take up available jobs.

IN HIS famous book, *The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money*, Keynes developed the obvious truth that it was never possible to sell more than people were willing to buy and that the way to bring about rapid economic growth in a rich country was, therefore, to increase demand. This was the part of the theory which was understood and applied by the Administration. But this is not the crucial part of the theory. Keynes' most important point was that a slump would occur if people and firms wanted to save more money than was required for investment purposes.

The framers of the recent tax bill ignored this reality and provided most of the benefits of the tax cut to individuals and firms who could be expected to save a substantial proportion of the additional income received rather than spend it. *Fortune* magazine has estimated that savings will rise from 7.0% of income in 1962 to 8.5% in 1964: needs for investment cannot be expected to rise at the same pace and the result of the tax cut is therefore to make a slump more, not less, probable.

It would, of course, be possible to raise demand and increase job opportunities in the short run. There are at least 38,000,000 people living below the poverty line —provision of adequate incomes to this group would suffice to take up productive potential for some years to come. There are urgent needs for better educational and health facilities, for water and land conservation, for town planning, for help to the poor countries of the world: the list is almost endless. In the short run, the problem is not economic but political; it is my estimate that federal government spending would have to rise by

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BERT THEOBALD is the author of *Free Men and Free Markets* ter, 1963). Just over a year ago, Mr. Theobald proposed he United States provide a constitutional right to an infficient to live with dignity; recently the Ad-Hoc Com- the Triple Revolution made the same proposal. Mr. here summarizes his argument, bringing it up to date in recent developments.

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at least $7.5 billion annually to avoid a slump (this compares with the estimate of $5 billion in the recent majority report of Senator Clark's subcommittee.) Such a rise appears to be outside present political realities.

However, even if it should prove possible to increase demand to the necessary extent in the short run and thus provide jobs, full employment would still be an impossible goal for the long run. When manufacturers or governments are confronted with increased demand for their products or services, they will decide on the mix of human and mechanical labor on the basis of comparative efficiences of the available men and machines. In the near future, those confronted with the need to expand their production facilities will find that relative efficiences have shifted dramatically and that machines have become more efficient and reliable than men for almost all repetitive physical and mental tasks. At this point in time, stimulation of demand will actually aggravate the unemployment problem for it will lead to the installation of machine-systems in new factories: these machine-systems will be so productive that it will be possible to close old factories and thus eliminate many human toilers.

The fact that emphasis on demand-creating activities will be ineffective in the long run is not the most serious aspect of the situation: if there were no other complicating factors we might accept the lessons of history and recognize that changes in conditions have seldom, if ever, been recognized until events have made them painfully obvious. We cannot, however, afford to wait. The reason is simple: if we continue to insist that everybody must have a job in order to gain an income, it is extremely difficult to close down any activity which provides jobs, however socially undesirable it may be.

In addition, the fact that almost all the institutions in our society are concentrating much of their effort on increasing the number of job opportunities makes it impossible to pay more than peripheral attention to the problems which will quite literally determine if we are to survive: conservation, limitation of population, efficient information movement, how to ensure correct decision-making, how to abolish war, the requirement for full human rights in a cybernated era.

WE CANNOT keep the industrial system functional by constantly increasing demand: indeed this technique is preventing us from paying attention to the real problems of the second half of the twentieth century. What then of the second set of policies: continuous re-education and retraining? There is quite obviously a need here, since the pace of change today is so great that it has deprived many individuals of their jobs and the satisfaction they gained from their jobs. But much of the re-education and retraining so far planned has been geared to the needs of the passing age. Few, if any, of the schemes have faced the problem of what should be taught in an age when machines, not men, will carry out all repetitive physical and mental tasks.

However, even intelligent understanding of the realities of cybernation would not be sufficient to allow us to provide suitable training and education without a drastic change in our institutional structures. We cannot control, or adapt to, rampant science and technology on the basis of an agricultural political system and an industrial economy. The confused struggle by both conservatives and liberals to preserve the vanishing industrial world must inevitably result in stalemate. The conservatives fear that the market is being hamstrung and the potential for complete government control is being installed. Liberals fear that the continuance of the laissez-faire tradition is allowing the activities of the large corporation to dominate the socio-economic system. This conflict between the two means that Congress is incapable of dealing with the problems raised by science and technology at a time when effective decision-making to construct a society which is education-oriented is required not only by events, but by social pressures.

The continuation of the drive for additional demand and constant retraining is resulting in a totally new society. Our socialization system—which includes the television programs seen by children—can only be realistically seen as a preparation for frenetic consumership, permanent debt and a round of pleasure in a society in which individualism and excellence have no place. This system serves us well, for these are indeed the requirements of our *present* system. They will continue to be necessary unless we are willing consciously to exert ourselves in order to change the present socio-economic system.

We are approaching an economic and social crisis. Kirstein recognized this approaching crisis in the *Nation* article already cited and called for realistic debate in the following words: "The most discouraging aspect of this problem is that there is no cogent debate as to which of the various solutions would lead us nearest to our national goals. Liberals and conservatives continue their basic agreement that, somehow or another, increased demand for goods will result in increased needs for the manpower to produce them, despite clear evidence that a surplus of goods of any description can be produced by cybernation, with the eventual elimination of human labor."

A recent report of the Research Institute of America, a Management Advisory organization, also pointed up the need for debate with its recognition of the existing lack of adequate solutions: "*The moment of truth on automation is coming*—a lot sooner than most peopl realize. The shattering fact is that the United State still almost totally unprepared for the approaching It's already clear that no one has any real *solu* the problems of automation. There are no ma that work, either in government offices or i

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industrial headquarters. As a result, there'll be a great deal of anguish and dislocation as emergency adjustments are made, crash programs improvised.

"This report cuts through the confusion and wishful thinking on automation to define the problems and most likely 'answers.' It makes unpleasant reading, for this much is already certain: The actions taken to cope with the coming crisis on automation will be *more radical* than business and government leaders publicly admit.

"*First fact to grasp: Automation has just begun to bite in.* Up to now, techniques have been in the process of development; today, the major systems are complete. From this point on, *they'll be spreading rapidly.* The effect will be revolutionary. . . ."

IT WAS acceptance of these realities which led me to the belief that we had to develop a new, human and constitutional right—the right to an income. Today such a right is not only economically feasible and socially necessary: it is also a prerequisite for the preservation of Western ideals of human dignity and freedom.

Every citizen of the United States and everybody who has resided in the United States for a period of five consecutive years should be guaranteed the right to an income sufficient to enable him to live with dignity. No government agency, judicial body or other organization whatsoever should have the power to suspend or limit any payments assured by this guarantee.

This right would apply equally to every member of society and should carry with it no connotation of personal inadequacy or implication that an undeserved income was being received from an overgenerous government. On the contrary, the implication would be one of responsibility by the total society for ensuring that no member of the society lived in a manner incompatible with the standards acceptable to his fellow men *merely because* he lacked purchasing power.

The guaranteed income plan can be compared to the introduction of limited liability in the nineteenth century. Limited liability was introduced in the nineteenth century to allow risk-taking by companies—the stockholder's liability no longer extended to his total wealth but only to the amount invested in the company. Limited liability was a pre-condition for the taking of risks: it did not ensure risk-taking or innovation but only made them possible.

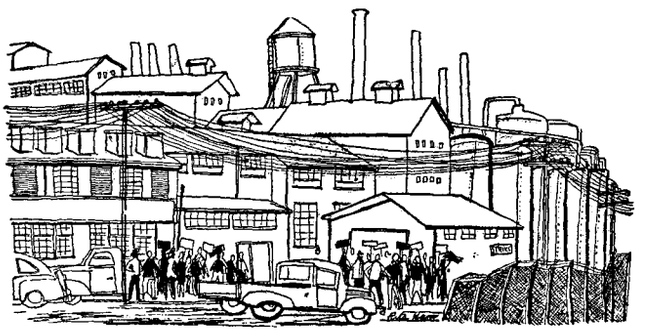
Similarly, a guaranteed income provides the individual with the ability to do what he personally feels to be important; thus allowing risk-taking. It provides him with a minimum income which prevents his complete dependence on any other individual. It is, incidentally, ro eresting to note how clearly this was seen by the late- (Pot enth century Utopians such as Bellamy: it was a that t come su ized feature of their imaginary worlds.
mittee on troduction of limited liability can be compared Theobald roduction of a guaranteed income for another the light of reason. The proposal to introduce limited liability in the nineteenth century was deeply shocking: it justified failure to pay legitimate creditors. The proposal to introduce a guaranteed income is similarly shocking in the twentieth century—it justifies income without toil.

It is also interesting to note that the justifications for the two measures are similar. The reason limited liability was introduced in the nineteenth century was that it was essential if society was to achieve its goal of industrial growth. The reason why a guaranteed income must be introduced in the immediate future is because it is essential if we are to preserve our goal of individual freedom. The guaranteed income is not one possible solution to the problems of cybernation which can be compared with many others: on the contrary it is a *prerequisite* for the development of the other policies required to deal with the real problems we must face.

WHAT historical, social and philosophical justifications exist for a guaranteed income? We can turn to the ideas of Jefferson who believed that there could be no freedom without the possession of personal property, usually land, that without personal property each man and his family would be "slaves" of his employer and the currently accepted views of society. This remains a basic truth, that unless a man has independent means he can seldom afford to dissent.

During the early years of the American industrial revolution, the prospect of work for money wages attracted immigrants from abroad and workers off the subsistence farms. Later, as the productive potential of the economy increased, Henry Ford introduced the concept that the money wages of the worker should represent a fair share of the wealth of the Nation—that a reasonable work-contribution should be recompensed with a reasonable wage. In the decades following the introduction of this concept by Ford, the level of industrial wages grew steadily throughout the nation and it came to be believed that the continued development of the industrial system and the attainment of high levels of material prosperity would eventually provide a high standard of living for all.

At about the same time as Ford introduced the $5 day, the federal government found its income inadequate to meet its obligations. The government, there-



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fore, introduced a federal income tax system which was designed to obtain limited amounts of money from those citizens whose incomes were more than sufficient to enable them to maintain a reasonable standard of living.

Two basic principles were inherent in the United States tax system from its inception. First, that each person would only pay taxes when his income exceeded the level required to provide a decent standard of living. Second, that any income above this level would be subject to "progressive" taxation: that, the larger the total amount of income received, the greater would be the percentage paid in tax. This latter principle was, of course, meant to ensure that the rich would pay a larger percentage of their income in taxes than the poor.

During World War II, however, the implied contract between the government and the people, which stated that sufficient income to cover reasonable expenses would be tax free, was broken and the amount of income exempted from tax was reduced to $500. The Encyclopedia Britannica describes the effect of this step in the following way: "At the beginning of World War II, the tax was converted almost overnight from a 'rich man's tax' to one which reached down to the great majority of workers. . . . The number of returns which had been 6,000,000 in 1937, touched 50,000,000 in 1945. . . ." As a result, for the first time, people whose incomes were below the level required for reasonable subsistence were obliged to pay federal income taxes.

The war and the emergency which justified taxing the poor are over. We can hardly rest content with a system which requires that the poor members of society contribute to the federal treasury, *and* to local and state treasuries, *even though their income is inadequate to meet even their minimum subsistence needs.* It is not generally known that a study by the Tax Foundation, of the tax burden in the year 1958 showed that the proportion of an individual's income paid in federal, state and local taxes does not vary significantly until the income of the individual rises above $15,000—in other words, an average individual earning less than $2,000 pays approximately as large a percentage of his income in taxes as an individual earning between $10,000 and $15,000.

GABRIEL KOLKO has shown in his book *Wealth and Power in America* that the taxes levied on the poorest class of society by the federal government are more than sufficient to pay for the total welfare benefits made available to them by the federal government. He states that in the year 1958, families and individuals earning less than $4,000 contributed over $6 billion to the federal treasury. "But the federal government spent only $4,509 million on what by the most generous definition may be called 'welfare' . . . If all federal welfare expenditures went to the $0-$4,000 class—which was certainly not the case—this class more than paid for them."

There is a myth in the United States which states that the tax system is steeply progressive and results in large-scale transfers of income from the rich to the poor. It is time that this statement is recognized for what it is—a complete distortion of the facts. Federal government benefits do not transfer money from the rich to the poor in any major amount—the main result of this federal activity is to transfer income from *some* poor people to *other* poor people.

The practical method of distributing the income due under the guaranteed income proposal would be to reactivate the original principles of the federal income tax system. We should reestablish the principle that the portion of income required to maintain a reasonable standard of living should be tax free. Taxes should only be paid on incomes rising above this level. Once this level has been established, those whose incomes from earnings and capital do not reach this level should be entitled to receive federal government payments sufficient to raise their incomes to this level and ensure their *basic economic security.*

At what levels should entitlements be set initially? Two factors must be taken into account in making this decision: first, the necessity of providing an income adequate for minimum subsistence for everybody; and, second, the necessity to prevent the overburdening of the administrative operation at the time payments are introduced. It might be expected that a level of $1,000 for every adult and $600 for every child would be feasible as a starting point for calculations. Further reasons for the choice of these levels and their implications are explored in *Free Men and Free Markets.* Present incomes are so low for a substantial part of the population that a guaranteed income at these levels would benefit about *twenty million Americans* or one person in nine.

The United States can easily afford these levels of payment. The President's Council of Economic Advisers, in its 1964 annual report, calculated the cost of eliminating extreme poverty. They stated: "Conquest of poverty is well within our power. About $11 billion would bring all poor families up to the $3,000 income level we have taken to be the minimum for a decent life. The majority of the nation could simply tax themselves enough to provide the necessary income supplements to their less fortunate citizens. The burden—one-fifth of the annual defense budget, less than 2 percent of GNP—would certainly not be intolerable."

The report of the Council of Economic Advisers does not go far enough. It has been estimated by the Council itself that there are some $30 billion of unused productive capacity in the country—estimates by other economists such as Leon Kyserling are twice as large. We do not even need to tax ourselves to provide the level of resources suggested: all we have to do is find ways to use the productive resources which have lain idle for the last seven years.

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DANIEL CALLAHAN

Catholic Freedom and Mr. Wills

The gentle mayhem of Catholic debate

BACK IN the waning years of the middle ages, shortly before the opening of Vatican II, there appeared in the pages of the *National Review* an editorial on Pope John's encyclical *Mater et Magistra*. The date of the editorial was July 29, 1961, a vintage year, one recalls, for connoisseurs of that sour old wine, the Catholic liberal-conservative debate. William F. Buckley, Jr., was touring the Catholic lecture circuit, practicing his splendid mixture of logic and innuendo which he was later to display in his epic battles with such cultural giants as Jack Paar and Gore Vidal. Though every card-carrying Catholic liberal knew, really knew, all about him, there was a fair amount of uneasiness about his success with undergraduates, old ladies in Sodality tennis shoes, and the Knights of Malta set. He was the only piece of living evidence that the otherwise triumphant gains of Catholic liberalism had still not swept the field. Naturally, the gentility of Catholic debate being what it is, all of us right-thinking liberals were waiting for Mr. Buckley to fall ignominiously on his face.

And so he did, finally, when the *National Review* called *Mater et Magistra* a "large sprawling document" and used the phrase a "venture in triviality" in the course of an analysis of its value. At any rate, it *looked* as if he had taken a fall; it is not every day a Catholic can get away with associating himself with that kind of opinion of papal encyclicals. A segment of the Catholic press was quick to call this to Mr. Buckley's attention, honing for the occasion of his execution the largest rhetorical axes it could find. It was a moment of triumphal indignation, and nowhere was the sound of the tumbrils louder than in the pages of *America*. In the interests of that gentility just mentioned, I will refrain from going into the details of *America's* case against the *National Review*. It amounted to the charge that true conservatives had been traduced by the irresponsible language of the editorial, and even more by the quip "Going the rounds in Catholic conservative circles: Mater, si; Magistra, no" which appeared in a subsequent issue. Not a reticent man, Mr. Buckley was quick to reply. The battle raged on for some weeks. For those of us privileged to be outsiders it was grand fun to watch.

Unfortunately, as so often happens in matters of otherwise good, clean blood-letting, there was something serious at stake. What is the authority of a papal encyclical? To what extent and in what ways are Catholics bound to papal pronouncements on the social order? Put more crudely, is it legitimate for one Catholic to smash another over the head with a passage from an encyclical? To find answers to these questions, Mr. Garry Wills has written a book, *Politics and Catholic Freedom* (Regnery. $5.95), using as his point of departure Mr. Buckley's altercations with his critics over *Mater et Magistra*. His aim, he assures us, is not to give undue attention to the original debate, but to study it as a paradigm of the conduct of Catholic debate. The result is enlightening, irritating, and intriguing.

IT IS enlightening because Mr. Wills has done a remarkably fine job of sifting through the relatively scant literature on the authority of encyclicals. He shows, convincingly and with acumen, how absolutely essential it is to employ the most delicate tools of interpretation in evaluating the weight of authoritative pronouncements. The historical context of the pronouncement, the technical meaning of the terms employed, the history of the debate preceding the pronouncement, the weight given a proposition by repetition through the years, the different degrees of assent which different statements in the same encyclical may require—all of these things are pertinent. Encyclical fundamentalism is as naive as biblical fundamentalism. What Father Gustave Weigel, S.J., once called the "studied ambiguity" of encyclicals is made starkly clear by Mr. Wills' study. Here we have, then, one facet of Mr. Wills' mind, well in keeping with his academic role as a member of the Classics Department at Johns Hopkins.

But there are actually two minds at work on this book. The other belongs to the Garry Wills whose writings can be seen with frequency in the *National Review*. This Wills has written an irritating book, to be found mainly in the footnotes. In it he takes apart assorted Catholic liberals with the panoply of debater's tricks which make the *National Review* such good reading for those with an aggressive turn of mind. Now and then, Mr. Wills scores some points; one has to give him that. But on the whole he is prone to distort the words of those he attacks, reading into them meanings and implications which are at most doubtful, and at worst unfair. In this same vein, Mr. Wills rallies to the defense of the *National Review's*

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editorial comments on *Mater et Magistra;* he does not so much defend them as minimize their significance by calling them "rhetorical lapses." Nice ploy.

Now had Mr. Wills done no more than I have just described, his book would still be of considerable, if passing, interest. It gains a special provocativeness, however, from the intriguing way he structures his argument. His theological heroes are not the Cardinal Ottavianis and the Monsignor Fentons in the Church, but those men who have often been attacked for their theological "minimism." Cardinal Newman was such a man, for he it was who "fought the drift of Catholic sentiment into a view that faith grows by accretion of the things one can accept. . . . To know perfectly what one must believe, one is obliged, also, to ascertain the points where he need *not* believe, or, even, *must not* believe." Applied to encyclicals this insight has important consequences. It militates against any inclination to look upon them as definitive blueprints incapable of revision by later popes; or to see in them a set of irreformable propositions, one as strong as another. Above all, it means that the response to an encyclical cannot be a deaf, dumb and blind submission, but an intelligent attempt to probe its depth, to see subtle distinctions, to recognize the possibility of disagreements over meaning and application. So it was that Father John Courtney Murray, S.J. took the sting out of nineteenth-century papal teachings on Church and State. He showed how conditioned these teachings were by their historical context, bringing out as well the force of isolated passages which were to serve in part as a basis for a subsequent development of doctrine.

The opponents of a Newman or a Murray have come from that camp which recoils in horror from qualifying distinctions. They would see papal teachings as timeless guides, free of historical contingencies, totally preserved from the possibility of factual error, and admirably simple guides to complex problems. Such a position is of a piece with that school of thought which holds that encyclicals are to be proclaimed and explained to the faithful, not interpreted by the use of a critical mind. As Mr. Wills points out, such a position assumes that there is no "possibility of disagreement on the nature, scope, consequences and larger import of the teaching itself." "This," he says, "turns a delicate mosaic of precise statements into a crushing, monolithic talisman."

MR. WILLS is very convincing when he makes points of this kind. He has a sensitive eye for nuances of language and a delightful, if sometimes exasperating, ability to show the *reductio ad absurdum* of seemingly sensible arguments. Whether he is aware of the ironies inherent in his approach is another matter. Historically, almost all of the distinctions he espouses for a proper reading of encyclicals have been developed by theological progressives, most commonly in order to justify a reevaluation of positions taken to be irreformable. Not many years ago, it was the Catholic political liberal who found these distinctions most useful. They particularly enabled him to counter the attacks of those who, arguing from texts of Pius IX and Leo XIII, asserted that the Church could never accept religious pluralism. One reason, no doubt, why many Catholic political liberals have been overzealous in their use of the encyclicals of Pope John is that for so many years they found themselves on the defensive. *Mater et Magistra* and *Pacem in Terris* seemed to many a final vindication of causes long unpopular in the Church. Now the tide has turned; it is the conservative who needs to defend himself: and how better to do this than to make use of all those hair-splitting, but wholly legitimate, devices of exegesis which for so long kept the conservative wolf from the liberal door?

THERE is something slightly amusing about this, but something healthy as well. Mr. Wills is perfectly right to complain about those who would use encyclicals to read political conservatives out of the Church; or use them to terminate arguments rather than to carry them forward in a productive way. Perhaps *Politics and Catholic Freedom* will help put a stop to that sort of thing, whether done under liberal or conservative auspices. There is no guarantee, of course, that it will. One has only to read Mr. Wills' sniping attacks on Teilhard de Chardin to discover, within his own book, a graphic example of the kind of thing he has purportedly tried to combat. Good intentions do not automatically produce good results.

Fortunately, what intentions may not produce, history probably will. In a larger context, Mr. Wills' book is symptomatic of a shifting stance toward authority in the Church; ignore the ephemera of the Buckley-*America* debate and one has a book which expresses a whole cluster of attitudes toward freedom and authority which have emerged in the past few years. One only wishes that Mr. Wills had given some attention to this shift. He does not raise the question, for example, whether recent encyclicals show, in their style and manner of argument, signs of a different conception on the part of the papacy toward them. Yet one has only to read a Gregory XVI or a Pius IX to see at once how the language, say, of papal denunciations has softened in recent decades; or, for that matter, how recent popes seem to avoid the kind of harsh, outright attacks on "pernicious" ideologies and views which was common among their nineteenth-century predecessors. Nor does Mr. Wills ask whether theological opinion on the weight of encyclicals has undergone a change. He writes as if the debates between "maximists" and "minimists" have been static, with no trend discernible. My own impression is that the "minimists" have triumphed; it is hard now to find theologians who will argue any longer for monolithic responses to papal documents.

The key to this evolution lies, I suspect, in the growing consciousness of the Church of three points, each

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brought out very well by Mr. Wills. One of these, to use his words, "is that the Church's rulers *can err even in the exercise of her divinely granted authority*, so far as the administration of the earthly society is concerned . . . the Lord meant to create His kingdom of truly human materials, only exempted from the vicissitudes of human rulers to the degree necessary for preserving the truth of revelation and the unity of His mystical body." Another is the importance of conscience, which is now being seen to have application within the Church as well as outside of it. A third lies in the gradual repudiation of any lingering belief that God's providence is clear and manifest. "Those who would have the Church shine with unquestionable wisdom on every subject," Mr. Wills writes, "are indulging [an] escape . . . God has conspicuously observed a different dispensation, challenging men to seek, exacting faith where unaided reason cannot go, granting even to those who accept His word only disturbed vision, as in a clouded mirror. . . ."

To the extent that we want truth wrapped up in neat parcels, this new consciousness will, I believe, be disturbing. What good, one might ask, are the papal social encyclicals if one has to make a thousand distinctions when reading and attempting to apply them? What good is the guidance of the Church if it turns out that we are still left with a bewildering array of choices in our daily life? What good is the authority of the Church if we still have to be responsible for our own conscience?

What good? We are left with our humanity. We are left with the personal responsibility to respond to the promptings of the Holy Spirit within us. We are left with the privilege of intellectual and moral agony. We are left with the knowledge that authority in the Church is in the hands of men like everyone else; that, even with the special protection of the Holy Spirit, all members of the Church must struggle together for the truth. There may be no comfort left here, but there is Christian dignity. A Church which can give us this, as well as occasional specific guidance and general illumination, has given us all we need.

Meanwhile, the battles will continue. Mr. Buckley, grown weary no doubt of intra-Church squabbles, has placed his talents in the service of the junior senator from Arizona, a candidate, it is said, for national office. The *National Review*, also dedicated to that Holy Cause, has, however, taken a moment out to comment on Pope Paul's new encyclical in its August 25 issue. This time around the editors are in a more respectful mood. "The new Pope," they say, "has shown himself an extremist in defense of the word of God." The trouble with Pope John, you see, was that his "generosity tempted so many squalid little ideologists to move lithely into his warm embrace." That wasn't his only weakness. There was also his "apparent see-no-evil hear-no-evil attitude" which was "obscenely hailed" by "peacemongers." Oh well, we all have our own rhetorical styles.

THE SCREEN

Fried Potatoes and Alligatoes

AS LONG as some moviemakers manage to jump out of the cliché rut every now and then, audiences as well as the industry itself are likely to take a renewed interest in what's on the screen. The trouble may be, however, with what the rut-fleeing makers are jumping into. Just being off-beat isn't enough. The American film, "One Potato, Two Potato," made by two newcomers in the field, producer Sam Weston and director Larry Peerce, and highly acclaimed at the last Cannes Film Festival, gave every promise of being something different. In a way, it is. Certainly its miscegenation theme, although not new to movies, has not been overworked. And the romance between a white divorcee (Barbara Barrie) and a likable, solid-citizen Negro (Bernie Hamilton) in a small midwest town is portrayed with touching simplicity and charm—thanks mainly to good actors.

But the script of "One Potato, Two Potato," not content just to show the usual problems that this interracial marriage or any marriage may lead to, gets itself tied up in knots it can't unravel. After Barbara and Bernie are married, they and Barbara's little girl by her former marriage live with Bernie's parents, and later when the young couple's baby is born, they are all together like one big happy family. Then Barbara's ex-husband who deserted her (Richard Mulligan) turns up and demands custody of the little girl. Most of the film is told in a long flashback while the judge weighs all the facts. Although some of the performances are amateurish and some of the scenes awkwardly handled, and one can't approve of the judge's decision to give the child to the irresponsible ex-husband, the picture's finale is heart-breaking. One only wishes that the whole film were as good as its best parts and its makers' intentions.

ANOTHER type of miscegenation is displayed in "Laterna Magika," the elaborate entertainment from Czechoslovakia which is now appearing in New York's Carnegie Hall before starting its American tour. For many years, producers and inventors have been trying to combine live stage with cinema, but this Czech production, complete with stereophonic sound, some ten screens three of which are large and the others small, thirty "live" actors, singers and dancers, and a variety of mirrors and tricks, is the most grandiose.

The first two-thirds of "Laterna Magika" are taken up with Offenbach's "Tales of Hoffmann." Opera lovers will probably tear their hair at this shortened, edited, hoked-up version as the singers and dancers walk in and out of the movie. Less discerning audiences may lap up the music and garish pictorial exhibits, especially the Venetian scenes which even go in for a touch of surrealism.

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All audiences, nevertheless, will get a kick out of the last third of the show with its "Variations" that run riot with visual gimmicks and quite witty humor. Best of these jokes is a simultaneous showing on two screens of a pseudo-old movie, "Lover in the Wardrobe," and the strangling scene from Verdi's "Othello." All of a sudden, the characters from one movie get mixed up with those in the other. The slapstick effect is comedy in the best Mack Sennett style. And so is the wonderful sequence in which dancer-skater Pavel Vesely skates a mad-hair-breadth tour of Prague. No doubt we should encourage invention and experiment in cinema technique, but I kept feeling during "Laterna Magika" that all this was a mountain of work that brought forth only a molehill.

NO molehill is the stirring little English film, "Girl with Green Eyes," which was imaginatively and expertly directed by Desmond Davis, a former cameraman for Tony Richardson. Don't be misled by the seeming simplicity of this seemingly minor story, in the screenplay written by Edna O'Brien from her novel, *The Lonely Girl*. The film is telling a lot more than the touching tale of a Dublin lass who falls in love with an older man and grows up as she learns about love and sex and the bitter aftermath of an affair.

Set as it is in Ireland, with stunning photography of Dublin and the countryside, the film says much in its visuals as well as in the dialogue about the Irish, the clergy, and about people everywhere, their loneliness, their longing, their weakness, and their strength. Under Davis' direction, the cast throughout is excellent. Rita Tushingham, who was so amazingly good in "A Taste of Honey," is even better as the shy, groping girl; and Peter Finch, who has excelled in many a film, is fine as the sophisticated, middle-aged writer whose wife is divorcing him, who doesn't want another alliance, who sees through the convent-raised girl, moves slowly and then falls in love with her. To his regret, he realizes the hopelessness of their December-May liaison, especially in a case like this where their backgrounds are so different. The supporting cast is good too, with Lynn Redgrave (Michael's daughter) as Rita's brash, vulgar roommate, and several Irish players who shine in small roles. Davis' technique is often brilliant in telling this touching story, and most of all in the scenes between the girl and man, scenes in which the dialogue often runs continuously while the settings and costumes change to indicate the passage of many days. This has been done before, but Davis uses this style so well that the effect becomes like visual poetry clarifying the growing attachment between the two characters. "Girl with Green Eyes" combines frankness and realism with poetic imagination and sensitivity. It is a most extraordinary and worthwhile off-beat film.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG

An Exchange of Views

"The Goldwaterite Revolution"

Tucson, Arizona

TO THE EDITORS: In the August 7, 1964, issue of THE COMMONWEAL there is an article by Walter Dean Burnham entitled "The Goldwaterite Revolution." Mr. Burnham has descended into the dirty arena of name-calling, half-truths, distortions, and even "fascist" hysteria. Those conservatives who indulge in similar tactics Mr. Burnham would properly label extremists. His poorly chosen remarks certainly lead one to feel that he has placed himself in poor company. While it is undeniably true that fringe elements are attracted to Senator Goldwater, the suggestion that the modern conservative Republican is a subtle fascist is the lowest kind of politics. I would expect to find this perverted type of thinking in a Bircher or a Communist magazine but not in THE COMMONWEAL.

Mr. Burnham prognosticates a "poisonously divisive" campaign. He should know. He is starting the battle now and he has chosen his way. I am confident that Senator Goldwater and the Republican party will leave the bitterness and the poison to the likes of Mr. Burnham.

FRANK A. SHALLENBERGER, JR., M.D.

Williamsburg, Va.

TO THE EDITORS: For years every rabble-rouser in America has attempted to discredit his opponent by reaching into a bucket of mud and extracting a nasty label to hurl at him. Using the twisted logic of labels, liberals became socialists, supporters of the U.N. became one-worlders, civil-rights leaders became pinks and states' rights advocates became racists. After each such charge, responsible liberals and conservatives have sadly joined forces to cry FOUL!

It is with heavy heart that I now must turn to face THE COMMONWEAL and shout FOUL! Walter Dean Burnham's article, "The Goldwaterite Revolution," reeks of the same slimy mud that has too long dirtied American political writing and served to obscure the issues.

When Robert Welch decided to give his own definition of Communism and then selectively pulled acts

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and words out of context to label Mr. Eisenhower a Communist, all fair-minded Americans were shocked. I felt the same shock when Mr. Burnham used the same tactics to apply a fascist label to the Goldwater movement. I fear that his charge will generate much heat but little light.

Let one example illustrate the lengths to which Mr. Burnham went to make his label stick—this example must be an American classic in over-simplification. Mr. Burnham says "The ideological affinities between Goldwaterism and fascism are too clear to be overlooked. Its anti-laborism, best known in the Senator's on-again-off again advocacy of a national right-to-work law, is quite well known." Really!! Reasonable men can differ concerning the value of a right-to-work law. A case can well be built that it is not good for labor, but such a conclusion is speculative and one about which reasonable men can rightly differ. Mr. Burnham, however, suggests that anyone who disagrees with him on the right-to-work is obviously anti-labor and since fascists are anti-labor, etc. I've seen this same brush used to paint "Communists" as a label to be pasted on all liberals. When I saw that I was nauseated. Now I see that brush at work again with a new label but the same gross over-simplification and twisted logic, and I again am sickened.

PATRICK RILEY

Rockville Centre, N.Y.

TO THE EDITORS: I found Mr. Burnham's overly simplified analogies and conclusions in his article on "The Goldwaterite Revolution" distinctly disturbing. An examination of the author's effort "to call things by their right name" must be made. Impartiality is seldom, more often never, achieved, not only in dealing with the loaded subject of fascism, but also with that of politics in an election year.

Many of Mr. Burnham's observations on fascism commence on unstable foundations. Fascism first of all cannot be ". . . inherently opposed to overt expressions of class conflict. . . ." At face value this may seem true; however, fascism needs class conflict to exist in the first place. Hitler's rise, an example I use only because I am most familiar with it, could perhaps not have been effected without the condition of social stasis on which it fed. Also, despite the surface condemnation and hate of fascism and Communism for each other, it has been observed that both ideologies have proven to be compatible bedfellows. U. S. conservatism is incompatible with both.

In his observation regarding the leadership of a fascist movement, Mr. Burnham has succeeded in placing the proverbial cart before the horse. Fascist leaders have come up from political, social, and religious vacuums, filling these empty pits (of national self-alienation perhaps) with an ideology of their own invention suited to the desperate search of a people for national identity. Fascism generally is conspicuous in its lack of ideology,

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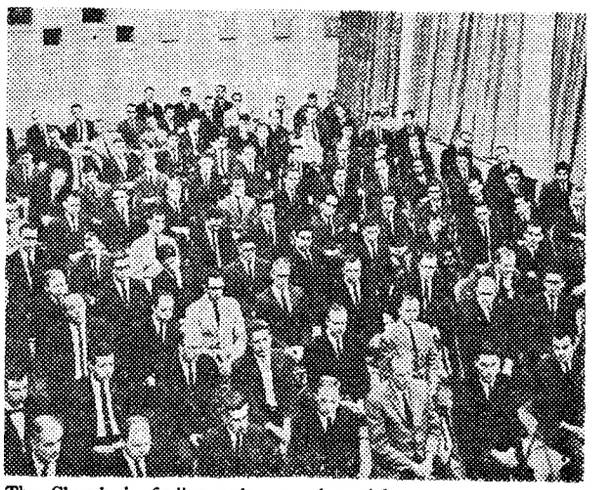

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basing its appeal on political opportunitism and expediency of the worst kind (i.e., Germany, Italy, Spain). On the other hand, American conservatism has always existed, and its increasing popular demand for a spokesman has *resulted in* the candidacy of Barry Goldwater. The man, who could have been anyone, was a result of real demand; thus, the term "revolution" becomes fallacious. Fascism and "Goldwaterism," if we must call American conservatism that, negate each other. Even if Goldwater did have the "hypnotic demagogy" of a Hitler, which we both agree he does not, the end result of his winning the election could not at all resemble fascism. No people consciously gives up its political liberties, and the Senator's popularity rests upon honest popular demand, not upon the catalytic forces of occasional chaos.

The difference between the collectivism of European Fascism and the individuality of American conservatism is not only apparent but is very *real.* Although ". . . fascism everywhere has been the child of its conservative parent . . ." it is an over-simplification to leave a seeming link between the two. One of the most consistently conservative countries throughout history has been Great Britain. (And the conservative countries of central Europe today rest on the far left of the political spectrum as Communist satellites.) Britain lacked even the extreme liberal influence which racked the entire European continent in 1848, notably in Berlin and Vienna. Its conservatism lies in its evolutionary, rather than revolutionary, development. The rejection of useless tradition, the preservation of tried and true methods and the slow acceptance of new methods and ideas is the essence of conservatism—be it that of Barry Goldwater or Edmund Burke.

The fear of the emergence of an ideological party must also be questioned. First, it is impossible for a presidential candidate to explain his views on how the government should function without the expression of his political ideology. Senator Goldwater expresses his conservative philosophy just as liberal presidential candidates of the recent past have done. He is doing a favor for the two-party system; he is recovering it from the morass of ambiguity into which it has sunk. Personality differences will no longer be the "issues" between the two parties. More people will be made aware of the real issues, as they have not in the past, more people will vote as a result; in short, more people will become effective and responsible citizens. Britain has maintained its basic political consensus, even though her parties have been split ideologically, drawing closer together only recently. If a realignment should occur in the U.S., it can only be good. Although the U.S. population does not possess the homogeneity of the British, it is cohesive enough to follow its British predecessors rather than the multi-party system of France or Germany.

Crude simplifications persist in the discussion of the G.O.P. today. Birchers and racists are unfortunately using the party as their ideological home, although Senator Goldwater has always been for full justice for the Negro and has repudiated the K.K.K., just as Communists use the Democrats today as racists have in the past. What Mr. Burnham sees as the Senator's ". . . willingness to use brute force . . ." in foreign affairs is merely a misconception of the man's complete philosophy. Conservatism looks realistically at the world as it is, while so much of the liberal view ignores it and sees the world only as it ought to be. The ideals must be striven for, but the reality must simultaneously be dealt with. Danger never disappears because we refuse to see it. Let us not follow in the footsteps of a Britain which ignored Hitler; let us instead follow the advocacy of brinkmanship now in order to avoid a later holocaust.

The Senator's policy in Vietnam for example, has just been followed by President Johnson and we are immeasurably safer, and closer to our ultimate goal of a peaceful universe as a result. Our ability to look possible destruction in the face, and to remind aggressors of the consequences of their acts renders the bomb not only the threat, but also the bargaining point and means of world peace. Even man's impaired reason should avert the use of the bomb, but the possibility of its use must be kept at the conscious level of aggressors with whom all else has failed. Until mankind is capable of maintaining an international system of legal justice, might must enforce right. This is the burden of the modern technological age. Catholicism, with its emphasis on the individual's acts

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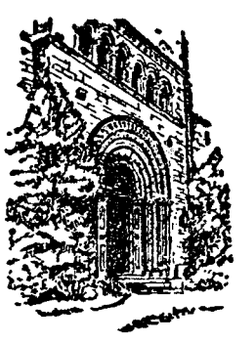

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and motives, is the seed of my conservative ideology which "glorifies" that same individual. The bulk of Catholic theology, with its Aristotelian roots, and the theological dogma of original sin, has no part in the liberal tradition. Catholics on the whole are recent, and uncomfortable, recruits to the liberal philosophy. Man's share of ignorance, and resulting wickedness demands outside regulation and control, even while the individual must be encouraged in the actualization of his full potential.

RENNY HARRIGAN

Reply

Ann Arbor, Mich.

TO THE EDITORS: Dr. Shallenberger and Mr. Riley assert that I have used the same tactics of vilification that Birchers and Communists use on their opponents. Gentlemen, the issue of radical-right extremism is there, and I didn't put it there. I have merely sought to analyze aspects of the Goldwaterite movement which ought to be profoundly disturbing to all thoughtful Americans, whatever their party allegiance. Do your correspondents really think that I raised this issue simply to sling mud? Do they really think that it gave me no pain to say these things? Surely those who write for publication ought to exercise prudence. But their duty to their own integrity also demands that they discuss issues as they see them.

All I've done, I suspect, is to dig more deeply into the very thing which seems most to have upset Republican moderates this year about the Goldwaterite movement. I especially refer your correspondents to Governor Rockefeller's substantiated charges about the tactics used by Goldwaterites in their party takeover, Governor Scranton's letter, the moderates' insistence that they were fighting for basic principles involving government and society, and above all Senator Goldwater's acceptance speech itself. Of course, Republican conservatism and fascism are not at all the same thing. But what does the word "conservatism" mean in this context? As I see it, conservatism is one thing, the radical right quite another. Senator Dirksen, House Minority Leader Halleck, Richard Nixon and General Eisenhower are all conservatives within the broad framework of the American political tradition. They distrust change, but will yield to it when it obviously becomes necessary. While I may and very often do cordially disagree with their political views, it would never occur to me to confuse their kind of conservatism—the conservatism of the overwhelming majority of Republicans—with the radical Right.

Goldwaterism is not conservatism by such a yardstick, no matter how much it tries to preempt the term for its own exclusive use. Historians have usually referred to the era of the Congress of Vienna and the Holy Alliance in Europe as a period of reaction—another "loaded" term, no doubt. But that's exactly what it was: an organized effort by the Party of Order to turn the clock back one

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full generation. It seems clear to me that the Radical Right stands pledged to the confirmation of a similar reaction in the United States, with the date being 1932 rather than 1789. Senator Goldwater himself has endorsed many elements in such a program, as a reading of *Conscience of a Conservative* and *Why Not Victory?* makes abundantly clear. Such policy stands, viewed separately or as a whole, are propelled by a drive to repeal the positive domestic legislation of the past thirty years and to fight for "total victory" abroad whatever the risks and consequences. Added up, they spell not conservatism but radicalism of the far Right. Such radicalism is just as disruptive of the social fabric and is just as dangerous to this Republic as the radicalism which would disrupt by ruthless nationalization and state-imposed collectivism. Both should be searchingly examined rather than accepted at face value. For both kinds of radicalism assure us that theirs is a crusade for "freedom."

So far as right-to-work laws are concerned, Mr. Riley lifts this one point out of the context of the whole article in order to show how unfair I've been. I was describing the main contours of an ideological syndrome of which this is just one element. But there is something to be said on the merits. There is much concern among Goldwater's supporters—not all of it unjustified—about leaving individual union members to the tender mercies of "labor bosses." But they refuse to recognize what the whole history of trade unionism demonstrates: "voluntary" unionism destroys both the cohesion and independence of the trade-union movement, and thus consigns individually powerless workers to the even tenderer mercies of corporate bosses. One would have thought that the industrial history of the past century should have made one thing clear to everyone: the logic of rugged individualist ideology ruthlessly applied in the inherently collectivist context of industrial organization, leads to the exploitation of the weak and scattered by the strong and concentrated. Indeed, it is not hard to see what would be the result of Goldwaterism in power, taking its public-policy programs as a whole. It would mean that the "military-industrial complex" about which President Eisenhower warned us in his farewell address would become permanently enthroned in a position of unassailable dominion in this country. In the context of our current socio-economic structure, such an apotheosis of corporate and military elites would be the necessary—if paradoxical—outcome of the Goldwaterite crusade for Rugged Individualism.

Miss Harrigan's long and thoughtful letter is in welcome contrast to the other two and deserves a more extended reply than I can give it here. Taking her last point first, I deny the union of Catholic theological tradition and conservative political tradition which she implies necessarily exists. The view she expresses is an inherently privatized view of the Christian's role in the world. There is certainly nothing the matter with this as such; but the great social encyclicals, *Rerum Novarum* and *Quadragesimo Anno* and *Mater et Magistra*, are informed by a broader vision. To be sure, the popes are first of all concerned for the spiritual well-being of the human individual—as for that matter am I. But they recognize that the unprecedented human problems arising from industrialism demand social prerequisites for that spiritual well-being. They recognize, therefore, that it is not possible to exclude issues of social justice under modern conditions from concern with the individual's welfare. As far as I can see, such a broader vision is ultimately incompatible with Goldwaterite ideology.

I do not agree that the emergence of fascist political tendencies depend upon economic collapse or rigid class polarization—though I would add, even so, that the social legislation of the New Deal grew out of class conflict, and that the radical right's burning desire to repeal it ultimately grows out of an extremely narrow and ideological class consciousness. The emergence of these tendencies depends more broadly upon the extreme social tensions which arise whenever a rigid set of obsolescent social norms and governmental institutions collides head-on with the tremendous thrust of technologically-forced change in contemporary social and economic life.

The great and truly conservative challenge of our time is to find ways and means of adapting values and institutions to the imperatives of this permanent revolution without destroying our ties to the civilized values of the past. This, too, Miss Harrigan, is the burden of the modern technological age. It requires the hardest work for all of us. It certainly cannot be done by simplistic slogans about freedom in the abstract or by seeking refuge in an idealized past. To adapt and conserve in this age of disruptive change requires above all that we ascertain with care and precision just what alternatives this human environment leaves us. It does no good at all, for example, to discuss subsidiarity in a vacuum. If it is to be operationally effective as a principle for the governing of men, it has to be discussed in terms of what realistically can or should be left to local and private decision in 1964 and what must be confided to the central government if the common good is to be preserved.

It is just here that the battle with Goldwaterism is joined. Its efforts to create a Bourbon reaction at home and to pursue the most crudely aggressive and oversimplified kind of anti-Communism abroad would result in disaster both for the United States and for the world. If it is considered to be disruptive of national unity for the issue of fascism to be raised in this election year, I can only reply that the fabric of national unity has already been severely strained by the nomination of Senator Goldwater. If I am accused of extremism in raising this question, I can only reply that Goldwaterism as a political movement *is* extremism at its core. After all, we have Senator Goldwater's own writings and speeches to show that this is so.

WALTER DEAN BURNHAM

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Indignation as a Passionate Form of Love

In the Midst of Plenty: The Poor in America. By Ben H. Bagdikian. Beacon Press. $4.50.

by John Stanley

"THE POOR are a safe target. They can't hit back. . . . In the families of the poor there are 12,000,000 children. These are the hostages to poverty." So writes Mr. Bagdikian.

Another book about poverty in the Land of the Free and the Home of the Brave. It covers much of the same territory as Michael Harrington's successful and apparently influential book on the same subject. And the parts of it that are concerned with Indians and migrant workers was quite thoroughly explored in Louisa Shotwell's moving work, *The Harvesters.* They are all depressing and enraging.

Mr. Bagdikian's effort, however, serves two purposes: It underlines the "message" of the other two books—and the endless stream of words about the subject that flows through the periodicals—and it is curiously appropriate at this time of the Johnson "war" on poverty with its jet-propelled forays into Appalachia, one of the most serious centers of entrenched poverty.

The author generally places the number of poor in the country at what he considers to be the conservative figure of 36 million—although he does not rule out the figure of 54. It all depends on what you mean by "poverty" and whom you consider to be poor, and he goes to considerable pains to define his terms with a variety of statistics. Are you poor if your family income falls below $6000 or five or three or two? But, his principal point—and Mr. Harrington's—is that they exist, and that they are to a large degree *hidden* from white-collar eyes.

The great mass of more or less affluent middle classes—and, of course, the rich—simply do not see them, living, as they do, in their own compounds, usually known as the suburbs and exurbs. The way in which we are rapidly reconstructing our physical plant makes it easier and easier to escape noticing the poor. In fact, the average member of the non-poor classes will increasingly have to go looking for the ghettos of the poor. Mr. Bagdikian makes the interesting point of "progressive" parents taking their children on educative tours of the slums so that they can see how the "others" live.

As the President pointed out not long ago, poverty is to a large degree inherited. With rare exceptions, the children of the poor do not grow up from the Sidewalks of New York with a degree from the Fulton Fish Market to become Governor of the Empire State. Nor do most of them have the special interior equipment of a Barney Ross who had to work out in the gym on an empty stomach, but who went on to become a champion prize fighter. Most of the poor have bad teeth, are chronically undernourished, especially prone to all kinds of physical and psychic maladies—one hopes that by this time the myth that neurotics are for the most part upper middle class intellectual Jews has been dispelled—their life expectancy is much shorter than the rest of us.

Hear the author again: "Skid Row man lives half as long as the average American. The death rate . . . is higher than in India, Africa, and the Middle East. The men, typically, die alone and without medical attention. They have 233 times more fatal heart diseases. . . . 37 times more tuberculosis, 16 times more death because of alcoholism . . . (and) 60 per cent of their death certificates are not signed by attending physicians."

These, and the other poor exist in a cage constructed of fear and hopelessness and despair; they do not *live;* they do not engage life; they endure for a little while; and sweat their guts out for you and me. They are our gleaners, collecting our rags and bottles and the cardboard boxes our TV sets come in.

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This is especially true along the agricultural poor who are rapidly being replaced by a variety of expensive and ingenious machines which can only operate economically on large tracts of land. Rural land dwellers—as has been pointed out in a thousand reviews and articles like this one—are leaving the land at the rate of a million a year.

But those who stay on in, say, cotton fields, follow along after the machines which gather the easy pickings with marvelous rapidity and efficiency, and pick what is left with much sweat and back ache and less reward than in the "good old days." Child labor is shockingly endemic in these parts, as Miss Shotwell pointed out in her book, and as there is little time for schooling, they are never prepared to compete—a word dear to the heart of the conservative—in what Mr. Bagdikian calls "white-collar society."

Again, Mr. Bagdikian: "The problem of poverty may remind contemporary America of a simple truth: he who wishes to live in a civilized community must take responsibility for more than himself." A depressingly increasing number of our middle-class citizens subscribe to the notion that what cannot show an immediate economic profit—dividends, interest, and rent—is wasteful and bad for the national character. They are America-Firsters, but appear to have "forgotten" all that business about the original purpose of this nation: To form a community where all would be given a truly equal opportunity to engage in and build for themselves a life in an environment of real liberty in order to achieve a modicum of happiness in the short span of years allotted each mortal man. It was not meant to construct a closed corporation to insure affluence for some at the extravagant expenditure of the lives of others.

How should the melon be cut? The less you do, the more you get—so it seems. Is this the American Way? Is it the human way? In pessimistic moods—which last longer and longer—an affirmative answer seems to be in order. In some ways the human condition seems to be sub-animal in quality. But the angel part cannot be constrained from crying out. Hear George Sand: "Humanity is outraged in me and with me. We must not dissimulate nor try to forget this indignation which is one of the most passionate forms of love."

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Admirable Study

Ford Madox Ford. By Carol Ohmann. Wesleyan University Press. $6.

by Leo Braudy

"THE STORY of a novel should be the history of an Affair" wrote Ford Madox Ford in *The English Novel* and many critics have adopted Caroline Gordon's view that Ford's novel constitutes a continual treatment and re-treatment of that one event, "for in this world of ours though lives may end Affairs do not" (Dedicatory Letter to *The Last Post*).

The latest work in the slow but insistent increase of the last few years in Ford's hardbound critical reputation, Mrs. Ohmann's book traces in the eighteen uneven novels from *The Shifting of the Fire* to *A Call* the tentative and incomplete statement of moral relations which are to be fully realized in the triumphs of *The Good Soldier* and the *Parade's End* tetraology: "a record of slow and difficult moral and psychological discovery wherein the conscious mind of the creator comes eventually to understand and subdue to art fictional situations that his unconscious mind had, from the beginning, insisted on telling."

It does not, however, seem either fitting or useful that Mrs. Ohmann has stated her thesis in these terms. Although from her statement it appears that Ford's progression "from Apprentice to Craftsman" (the subtitle of the book) will be shown at least partially in the light of his "inner" biography, she disclaims any great knowledge of Ford's life and disdains any specific psychological connections.

Her method, instead, is a minute close analysis of all the novels with more than half the book spent in the consideration of *The Good Soldier* and *Parade's End*. The specifics of her study are its greatest strength, especially her remarks on Ford's style. In addition, her discussion of the influence of Henry James, whom Ford early admired, and the collaborations between Ford and Joseph Conrad (although *The Nature of a Crime* is unaccountably not mentioned) are filled with a perceptive insight into the stylistic relations among the three authors.

Close analysis, however, is only a method of proof, not in itself a mode of judgment or a description of substance. Mrs. Ohmann specifically utilizes her analytic methods to illustrate the development of Ford's treatment of moral tension, primarily those between tradition and anarchy, repression and self-expression. In the early novels she sees Ford as unable to define a consistent attitude toward his idealistic romantic heroes and severely criticizes the *Fifth Queen* trilogy, especially *The Fifth Queen Crowned*, on this account.

Only in his later works does he achieve a full understanding of the problems; his earlier novels are ridden with a detrimental ambivalence.

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"He began with no firm ethical principles with which to measure society. . . . He wanted both to exonerate and condemn his romantic heroes, both to support and overturn traditional ideas of honor." Whatever insights this thesis may have afforded in the consideration of the earlier novels, it becomes too restrictive later.

In her accounts of *The Good Soldier* and *Parade's End*, Mrs. Ohmann appears to have become the prisoner of her own categories of experience, a state of mind shared by many of Ford's characters. Following her moral structuring of Ford's novels, she tends to read Christopher Tietjens, for example, primarily in terms of a tradition of which General Campion is the other major representative and as a character usually parallel to Edward Ashburnham of *The Good Soldier*. Similarly, she discusses the anarchic behavior and ideals of Sylvia Tietjens at length, without noting a contrasting anarchic behavior, merged with a social ideal, in the character of Valentine Wannop.

As a writer matures, one might expect a more skilful qualification and manipulation of any absolute categories of conduct and experience. But, if we follow Mrs. Ohmann, we see the maturity of Ford in his great novels to be the categorization and polarization of moral value.

Because of its analytic technique, Mrs. Ohmann's book has a decidedly hermetic quality. There is no discussion of the social context in which Ford wrote, although she recognizes the "social comedy" nature of much of his work. Whatever close analysis can tell us about Ford's methods and concerns, it seems at best an incomplete approach for the substantive understanding of works usually labeled "romances," which were avowedly impressionist in execution and in which the author attempted to convey the "indefiniteness that is characteristic of all human conversations" *(Joseph Conrad)*.

The extremely provocative remarks about Ford which Mrs. Ohmann makes, when she leaves for a moment the strictures of her thesis, gives the impression that she too recognizes its limitations and tendencies to falsify. It is in these small asides and *aperçus*, when she transcends her somewhat intractable critical technique and assumptions, that Mrs. Ohmann's book, to use a Fordian phrase, is truly admirable.

The Great War

Ordeal of Victory. By John Terraine. Lippincott. $6.95.

by Alice Mayhew

OUT OF the vast regrets of the Great War, a whole literature of accusation and defense is emerging which, with its burning horror of spilled lives, seems most pertinent to this generation's fears of an apocalyptic blood bath. The man who presses *that* button now is just bigger, better and more lethal than the men who sent foot soldiers into massacre after massacre. We read our ruin in their unprecedented and unequalled destruction.

Of the many books currently being published, some are dramatic evocations, attempts to understand the transfiguring ordeal. I think particularly of Alastair Horne's masterpiece on Verdun, *The Price of Glory*, and *In Flanders Fields* by Leon Woolf. The book at hand, like Alan Clark's *The Donkeys*, Barrie Pitt's *The Big Push*, and Barbara Tuchman's brilliant account of the opening month, is a further argument in the grand debate.

Terraine, however, almost eccentrically, has chosen the defense, and has picked Field-Marshall Sir Douglas Haig as his defendant—the man in charge of the "martyred" [Winston Churchill] British armies, a petty and vain man who has been called everything from a nincompoop to a monster.

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Mr. Terraine's book is a badly strained piece of special pleading whose single viable argument is that Haig was not personally responsible for the head-on mauling tactics of the War of Atttrition. He does not answer the pertinent charges: that Haig, as other leaders, pushed this policy on the field irresponsibly; that he, as they, was incompetent and evasive; that he, as many of his peers, abandoned his men to disaster for his own ambitious and vainglorious ends.

Mr. Terraine is too technical for the popular whitewash, but he is agonizingly defensive—using italics to add his own weight to Haig's unmeasured statements, rooting out the most favorable casualty statistics from numerous available versions, ignoring, in short, almost every distressing fact. He plays down Haig's royal and other connections as having no bearing on his latish, spectacular success; "Lucky" Haig as he was known in military circles—"smooth, polished, impeccable Haig with friends in all the right quarters" [Barbara Tuchman].

We must go to other sources to find the famous Haigisms: "the role of the cavalry on the battlefield will always go on increasing"; bullets have little "stopping power against a horse"; the machine gun is a "much overrated weapon and two per battalion is more than sufficient." Mr. Terraine has compounded the peculiarity of this last remark by remarking, in a British paper, that it was made petulantly.

None of these criticisms is crucial in itself; but they are, I think, indications of Terraine's reluctance, in this long and detailed book, to come to grips with the insularity of Haig's military ideas. It has been remarked that Napoleon would have found nothing new to surprise him in Haig's conduct of an army that suffered from a preoccupation with tradition rather than technology.

This was an army caught in a deadly crossfire between new weapons and nineteenth-century tactics; that was incapable of improvisation; that bore the remnants of a social order so dead that it was still considered an advantage for an officer to be able to afford his own weapons; that persistently and catastrophically applied the principles of siege warfare in a non-siege situation; and that spent human life more profligately than ever before or since.

Mr. Terraine also has the habit of sliding over some of the most disastrous debacles with a peculiar arithmetic whereby one wrong cancels out another, one slaughter excuses the next. Thus, though Haig insisted to the end on accepting the wildly optimistic reports of Intelligence Chief Charteris with his conjured-up victories, the Germans also had intelligence trouble. Thus,

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though British casualties were sickeningly horrifying, they were not as high as the French or Russian. Thus, though the whole and single strategy of the war rested on continuous massacre, the British were not the only losers. Mr. Terraine has capped his cavalier attitude with the remark, made to a British publication, that the "shock to the British consciousness was out of proportion to the comparative loss."

Though three successive British armies were destroyed with no practical gain on the field, it is not simply the destruction that rankles still, but nagging suspicions about how—whether they were, indeed, "cannon fodder," in the popular term. Instead of attempting to throw light on this serious quandary, Terraine obscures, hides, excuses and dismisses. About the first day at the Somme (60,000 British casualties)—"When one has said that (it was for Haig) a vast and tragic mistake, one has said everything." Not at all; one has said nothing.

The truth is that attacks were pressed as great adventures in the middle of rout, confusion and slaughter in the line. One of the most startling examples is the second day of the battle of Loos. Haig and his chief, Sir John French, had disagreed about the disposition of two reserve divisions. French refused at first to put them into Haig's hands. The first day of the battle was an unmitigated disaster—British gas was released after unfavorable weather reports and lingered over their own trenches; most of the men who got out of their trenches were gunned down or beaten back. On the second day, Haig sent in the two raw divisions.

Already exhausted from a long march, in went the two units who had, Haig remarked, "not yet acquired the sedentary habits of trench warfare." (Mr. Terraine does not supply this last quote. Instead, he quotes Haig two days later about the same men: "They should have had experience in the trenches before being sent into a great battle!" In other words, inexperienced stupidity had been considered both a reason before, and an excuse afterwards).

Mr. Terraine's account of the fate of these unfortunates is that they received a "terrible baptism of fire," advanced gallantly at first, wavered, and then fell back.

Mr. Alan Clark supplies a more detailed accounting. He quotes the diary of a German regiment that was facing the recruits. "Never had the machine-gunners such straightforward work to do . . . the entire field was covered with the enemy's infantry . . . and they could be seen falling literally in hundreds." The German colonel was scandalized and called off his men from shooting at the few survivors. The final toll was 8,000 lost out of 10,000, and Haig's accusation later was that they had not been placed under him *in time*—a clear admission that they were sent in after he knew it was too late.

The profligacy with which Haig and his colleagues spent the lives of their countrymen has produced a hot and traumatic argument in Britain that rages still. The Great War evokes the unholy spectacle of polished boots and martyred millions, and the conclusion (pressed home savagely in the London revue, *Oh What a Wonderful War*) that a lot of people took the rap for a small group of cynical snobs. One talks about the irreconcilability of what Lloyd George called the "unquenchable heroism" of the men, and the "inexhaustible vanity" of their masters. One feels that a generation of "lions" was squandered by reckless and negligent "donkeys."

REVIEWERS

John Stanley is senior interviewer in the Student Aid Department at New York University.

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